

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ
ATTICÆ
LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEVEN BOOKS OF THE

ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The discription of the Citties glory, govern-
ment, division of the People, and Townes within the
Athenian Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacri-
fices, Account of their Year, a full relation of their Ju-
dicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholar of
Merton College in *OXON*.

With an Addition of their Customes in
Marriages, Burials, Feastings, Divinations, &c. in the
four last Books, By *ZACHARY BOGAN*,
Scholar of *G. C. C.* in *Oxon*.

The Seventh Edition Corrected and En-
larged, with a twofold Index, *Rerum & Vocabulorum*.

Arist. Περιεγραφή των ἀκροῶν, ἐπιχόρμια, μεζόν ἔχοντες
ἔργον, ὃ, πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐκείνη ἢ ὅτι χρυσίμια, ὠρεῖν.

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TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

ST NATHANIEL BRENT Knight,
Vicar Generall, and the most vigilant
Warden of Merton College
in OXFORD, *Health,*
Cc.



It is the custome of most,
to impose a patronage of
their errours upon some e-
minent person. But it shall
be my ambition in this my
Dedication to manifest my
observancie. Others make
their choice of potent men, thereby to
shun the darts of envy: it shall be my
glory to be thought worthy of invidency;
whose ignorance is not so great, but well
* 2 knowes

THE EPISTLE

knows that ever some will bite in secret; & scourge these errors of my youth with private reproaches. But such malignant tongues I will counterpoise with the wind, and set as lightly by as they are vain. And although I am confidently perswaded that the covert of your wings bee sufficiently able to shelter my faults; yet had I rather to expresse my duty towards you in these naked infirmities, whose goodnesse truly knows how * to pardon the bold adventures of Learning I present you therefore With *Athens*, whose deplorable raggednesse my papers well resemble: which may challenge this excuse; that they assimilate themselves to the Treatise in them contained; Which of all men, I my self am conscious most unfitly to have handled. That City oncethe * nurse of reason; * which flourished in eloquence, & brave achievements more than all *Greece*, could not, unlesse in her miserable ruines, have without her disgrace been spoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church suckt rare literature, *Basil* his eloquence

* Anſis literarum ignosce-
re Vegerius
in Prolog.

* Cie' Epist.
* Parercul. in
fine Lib. 1.

DEDICATORY

eloquence, *Naxianzen* his strength; & others
 their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which
 who had not seene is by * *Lyfippus* accoun-
 ted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, these Re-
 liques of that famous Vniversity, though by
 me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity,
 by you well esteemed of, though among
 most of these our dayes accounted dirt;
 whose labour it is to seek new factions, and
 like nought, but what may be accounted no-
 velty. Resembling the brute, of which *Cice-
 ro*, *Ad id solum quod adest, quodq; praesens est se
 accommodat, paulum admodum sentiens prateri-
 tum, &c.* never caring for what is past. But
 you weigh well the excellency of talking
 with thole Champions of Learning, hun-
 dreds of years since gathered to their former
 dust, by whose pensils we see drawn the
 lively images of deceased Monarchs, the
 forms of government, & very lives of states.
 Out of which patternes, if you please to
 deeme the least part of this to have beene ta-
 ken, it shall heap to my joy that the follow-
 ing Tract will not seem a spurious and de-

* Apud Di-
 cearchum
 Eim 7996-
 401 71: A
 011111, 11111.
 20 11.

THE EPISTLE

generate offspring. Upon presumption of
which I fear not, as the Eagles do their
young, to expose my brood to the rayes of
the open Sunne. Thus with continuall
wishes for addition to your happinesse, I
take leave, From my Study in Merton
College Jun. 9. 1637.

Your worships in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROUS.



TO





To the READER.

IT is not a thirst of empty glory that makes me run the hazard of your censure, but a consideration of the weaknesse of School-Masters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themselves being not ripe in the Attick Customs. I have therefore so farre endeavoured as you see. If any thing may afford a scruple to any, he shall engage mee that will require satisfaction. If anything seem amisse, it shall be taken by mee as a favour to hear of it from any. For I am not of those whose eares are stopt, when their errors are
are

THE EPISTLE

*are told them. If this please, it shall adde spurres
to the finishing of this course intended, & as
occasion may give leave, you shall have the rest
that may be spoken.*

Yours

F.R.



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2 *Athenarum situs, Ἀθ., τόλις, Ἀκρόπολις, Herba lucentes, Murus, Pelasgicus & cimonicus, Propylea circumstus veteris urbis, & nova, ἡ ἀνὰ & ἡ παρὰ τοῦ τόλις. Piraci brachia. Murus phalericus, Porta, Atr, Lans passim apud Scriptores, Cephissus fluvius.*

pag 6

3 *Ἀθήναι. Ἀθηνῶες. Mores & ingenia. τὸ ὑποβάρεταρον. Quantum hodiernis differunt a veteribus, & qualem vita rationem modumq, habent.*

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Archæologia





A R C H A E O L O G I Æ

A T T I C Æ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

*Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia. Ἀττικὴ, Ἀττικα, Ἀττή. Athene in
attā, Cecropia, Cranaa. Attis, Attica, Athena sub Cecrope.
Certamen Palladis & Neptuni. Plutarchica de re sententia.
Alii sub Eretheo volunt nominari, Justinus sub Amphictyo-
ne. Salenos. Selines. Satina. Sethina.*

BY the Sons of Noah were the Isles of the Gentiles a Gen. 10. 5.
divided in their lands, every one after his Tongue;
when by their audacious folly they would have
mounted up to Heaven, thinking to leave a name
to Posterity, by building Castles in the Air. From which at-
tempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of,
namely a scattering abroad upon the face of the earth: he ha-
ving so spoken it, whose breath alone affords a fair wind: hoist
then they must their Sails, and bidding adieu to the plain in
the Land of Shinar, seek out some new habitation. Travel-
lers they were of yore, and yet still must journey. Each one
in as different a course, as of a divers language. The Sons of
Shem their way, the Sons of Japhet theirs, Gomer and Ma-
gog, and Madai, and Javan, with whom I purpose one furlong

A

to

to keep company, leaving the rest on one side or other, or behind, looking only to my proposed scope. *b* Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰωνίας καὶ πάντες ἔβησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. From *Javan* came *Jonia* and all the *Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Javan* put for *Greece*, in *Daniel* twice, *c* And when I am gone forth, see the Prince of *Grecia* shall come And again, *d* He shall stir up all against the Realm of *Grecia*. Where although the old Translation renders it not *Javan*, yet it is found in the Original. He then coming into the Countrey, called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was termed *Jonia* and *Jas*, ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰας ἑκαλεῖτο. For *Attica* was anciently called *Jonia* and *Jas*. In which words we still retain some reliques of the *Radix*, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination, But if we please to view after what title the sons of *Javan* were stiled *Jaones*, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, ὅς τινος ὅταν οὖν — Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Ἰαῶνι — τὸν Ἀθηναίων λέγει. *Homer*, when he saies, There the *Bæotians* & *Jaones*, speaks of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiast* of *Æschylus* on these Words,

f Ἰαῶνιν γὰρ οἱ καλεῖται πέρους δῖον.

Ἰόνιν γὰρ Ἰαῶνι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι καὶ τὴν δὲ Ἰαῶνιν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Εὐβοίας. It is to be understood, quoth he, that the *Athenians* are termed *Jaones*, from one *Jaon* (he means *Javan*) that was their King. Neither is it strange that the *vau* or *υῖ* is left out; for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Diphthongs were. For the *g* antique Latines & the *Greeks* spake it as broad *a*, as if it had been *Thesaros*, not *Thesaurós*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, That *Asia* the less had people before *Greece* had any, and that *Javan* did not flee from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the less in his passage, and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his own name to some maritime Province on that side, as he did to that part so called. In which, although the authority of so worthy & judicious a Man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, only to go so far, as antiquity

ry

b Joseph. Antiq.
l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

c Dan. 10. 20.
d Cap. 11. 2.

e Strabo l. 9.
p. 392.

f In persis
p. 133.

g Donat. in
Ter. p. 130.

ty will bear me out. *a* *Thucydides* reports, that it is manifest that all Greece was not βασιλεία οὐκ ἀκατοίκητος, firmly inhabited. but that there were continual Pilgrimages, or Removings of the Inhabitants, forsaking their former places, being driven out by a stronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no safe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each manured his Grounds to have Provent alone to serve for present necessity, desiring no more than from hand to mouth; it being uncertain how soon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their seats; not taking grievous that sharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni, Be gone you ancient Bores.* But the more fertile Soil had hard bickings. *Thessalia, Boeotia*, and a great part of *Peloponnesus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled, *ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ, ἐν τῷ ἐπικρατέστερον δὲ τὸ λεπτότερον ἀσπίστον ὄντων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἔστιν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ.* *But Attica by reason of the thinness or barrenness of the ground, was always inhabited by the same men (none it seems being willing to leave his better for a worse) not affording fuel to contention.* Out of which peace sprung up so great a multitude that *Attica*, even now swarming, and ἔχ' ἰσχυρῆς ὄντος not able to contain and feed so many, is constrained to send forth Colonies into *Ionia*, a region of *Asia* the less, which is reported by the greeks to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*; or, as the Poets say, *Apollo* and *Crensa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be *κτίστης Ἀναδ' ὧδε τοῦδε, the maker* *c* In *Ione* *T. 2. p. 619.* or founder of *Asia*. The Mother *Ionia* (for so I please to say) kept not still her former name, For in process of time she owned *d* Lib 9. p. 397. *Athena*; from *Aethon*, as *d* *Strabo* says, or from *Aethens*, according to *e* *Pausanias*, who was the first King thereof, by *f* *Pag. 23.* *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*, called *Aethens*. But *g* *Dion Chrysostom*. *Orat. 6.* brings a more natural reason than this, why it was *Athena*: *Vulg. Æn. 5. p. 214.* *Athena* signifies a shore, both in the Greek and *Latine* speech. *h* *Strabo* l. 9. Now because all of it within a little was washed with the *P. 391.* Sea, and *h* *Διωνεύς*, it might challenge unto it self *Athena*. *Dion.*

iPag. 22.

* In Spicile-
giis.† Strabo &
Paus. locis
præd.a Varro apud
August. l. 18.
c. 9. de civit.
Dei.b in Them.
p. 87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο τι παλαιὸν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅθεν ἡ τῆς ἡμέρας
λαβὼν οἶον αὐτῶν τινα ἔσται. Hence *Ἀττὴ* by the Enigmatical Po-
et in his *i Cassandra* is put for this Countrey. *Τζιζες*. Because
it is (*Ἀττὰ*) a cliffe, that is cast and lying in the Sea. And
Athens herself by *Plantus* is said, *Athens in æta*, pro *Athe-
nis Atticis*, as *h Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old af-
ter a season, and *Cecrops* having married the Daughter of
Actæus, glories in his *Cecropias* (and *Athens Cecropie*, and *Ce-
cropis civitas*, and after that *Cranæa*, from *Cranæus* the King
that succeeded him.) this *Cranæus* among other of his daugh-
ters, had one *ἸΑτθία*, from whom also was derived *Ἀτθίς*
and *Attica*, next *Πεσιδονία* and *Μινέρβα*, from *Neptune* and
Pallas. In this region stood *Athens*, *Queen of Greece*, so called
from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when
Cecrops moved with a Prodigie of a sudden shooting up of
an Olive, and bubling forth of a salt Spring in the *Acropolis*,
consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one
did signifie *Neptune*, and the other *Minerva*, taking therefore
the men into suffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Mi-
nerva*, who had most voices should carrie it. The females
being more, the Goddes bore away the Bell. Lo here a wit-
ty Divel to bring in *ἑμψυχούς θεούς*, Gods of his own making, to
insold the superstitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us
leave the shadow of poetical fictions, & take the true draught
out of *Mythologie*. *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient
Kings, striving to draw away their Subjects from seafaring
negotiations, and a desire to live by sailing, unto tillage and
manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Ne-
ptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. *Εὐνὸς πόλις* &c.
Neptune is put for the Sea, and busineses thereof. *Minerva*
for Arts and ingenious kind of life, nay saies *Ovid* in his *Ka-
lender*, *Mille Dea est operum*, she is Goddes of a 1000 Trades.
Others say that the City was consecrated to her by *Amphi-
ctyon*, & *nomen civitati Athenas dedit*. c *Iustine*. Others in the
time of *Erectheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this
name

name given. Wh^{ch} Author d^s *Marcianus Heracleota* doth fol-
low, ὅστις ἐκ τῶν ἑσπερίων καὶ πλείων ἡμερῶν ἔκ τ' Ἀθῶν τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς
περὶ τὴν λαβὴν. This was that *Erethæus*, who in a time of *dryness*.
drought over all the world, except *Egypt*, brought Corn to
Athens, and taught the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. Beholding this
City hath been to *Egypt* for other Kings, to wit, *Cecrops* & *Aristoph.*
and *Menestheus*, for his Father *Petes* was an *Egyptian*. In sch. pag. 79.
the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him it was a receiv- Tz. in
ed opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Egyptians*. Lycoph p. 23.
Sais in that tongue answering to *Athens* in Greek, as *Tzetzes*
out of *Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of
Sais, they argue from this, Because that the *Saitæ* and *Athen-*
nians have divers customs alike. Witness *Diodorus Siculus*.
But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *A-*
thens, when the people came more seriously to addict them-
selves to civil Government, and study of good Literature;
knowledg and art being ascribed to *Minerva*; τῇ δ' Ἀθῶν ἡ
ἐπιστήμη ἀντιδιδῶν ἐκ τῆς γλῶσσας, sayes *f Aristotle*. Nay her f Polit. l. 3. c. 9.
Name being derived from thence, Ἰων *Thena* in the *Chaldy*
tongue signifying to study or learn: from wh^{ch} comes *Thena*,
and with an article *Hatthena* as *g Heinsius* the most learned.
As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan*, from *ana* the number of *g In Aristar.*
three, which notes eternity, and so from *hat. bet. ana. Athena*. Sac. Synt. 1.
Because wisdom doth contain Eternity, let us send it back 1. 1 pag. 27.
into *Germany*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which
was once the *hshop of letters* and the *Muses*, whereof it is now *b Idior.*
deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former *Athens*,
nay the name it self. For if we believe some, they tell us
that now it is *Salenos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not; be-
cause that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisaa*, which
is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse
with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many years in that
City, I had no other appellation frō him than *Athens*, which
others write *Satina* corrupted as *Porus* and *Menusius* truly
think for *τῆς Ἀθῶν*. Nay a *Hugo Favolius* who was there a In Hodæp.
himself Byz. l. 3.

6 *Archæologia Attica. Lib. 1. Cap. 2*

himself, even to the same purpose, names it *Sethina*.

Undique sic misera nobis spectantur Athenæ,

Dadala quas Pallas sese coluisse negaret,

Quas, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mania dicas,

Indigene Sethina vocant. —

We wretched *Athen*, round do view, which now,

Though once ingenuous *Pallas* love, 's her shame,

And t'have been thine, *Neptune*, would'st disavow,

To which the homebred give *Sethina* name.

CAP. II.

Athenarum situs. Ἀστυπόλις, Ἀκρόπολις. *Herbe lucentes, Murrus, Pelasgicus & Cimonius, Propylæa. Circumitus veteris urbis, & novæ.* ἡ ἀῖον & ἡ τὴν πόλιν. *Piræti brachia. Murrus Phalericus. Porta. Aer. Lani passim apud scriptores. Cephissus Fluvius.*

b In Panath.
p. 171. 172.

Greece, says b *Aristides*, is placed in the midst of the whole Earth; and in the midst of it stands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all Greece, cloistered in the womb of time, received nourishment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is seated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do encompass, as c *Strabo*: on the top of which stands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himself names * *Cecropia*; of old ἄστυ, *The city*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witness d *Pausanias*. e *Terent.* *An in astu venit?* Donat. Sic *Athenienses urbem suam vocabant, unde ipsi incolæ ἄστυ vocantur.* So, saith he, the *Athenians* called that City, whence the Citizens themselves are called *astoi*: after that they called it πόλις f *Pausanias*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Castle; which

e Lib. 9. p. 396.

* Plin. Nat.
hist. l. 7. c. 56.

d In Art. p. 13.
l. 16.

e Eunuch.
act. 5. sc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24.
l. 43.

which ever were sacred to *Minerva*, as *g Aristides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks*, named *Diva resinens in summis urbibus arces*; *The Goddess that keeps the Turrets of Citties*. This only now remains the succor and shelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being strongly furnished with men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries to the number of seven hundred thousand, as *Christophorus Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing least he had mistaken the number. As for the Forces thereof *a Hugo Favolius* shall thus instruct you,

g Orat. in Minerv. To. 1. p. 21.

a Hodcep. Byz. l. 3.

*Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem
Queque impōita jugo est, vastas prospectat in undas
Æquoris, & circum dispersa mapalia, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoste,
Nobilis arx, toto qua non est altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validisque instructior armis,
Ignivomque magis tormentorum impete tuta.*

A Castle only famous at this day,
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.
The scattered thatcht sheds that stand it about,
The Fort descends and keeps Invasion out,
And Natives safe. A Fort, none noted more
In Greece, which hath a better Warlike store,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the top of this Turret stands the fashions of Half Moons most rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Ishmaelites*, who have the Moon in no small honor, as my much honored Mr *b Selden* hath observed. Of which Lunulets thus speaks *Favolius*.

b De Diis Syris, Syn. 2. cap. 2. p. 288.

*Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua calivagas ferunt fastigia nubes.*

Whose top with gilded Moons aspiring high,
Do knock the Clouds the Pilgrims of the sky.
Neither may it pass obscurely which I have taken up, being let fall frō the mouth of an eye-witness, namely, that on the side

side this Hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of herb, that farre off, in the night season, gives a most shining and glittering light, to which when a man shall approach, he shall discern nothing but the herb it self. Of which matter I seriously wish that I could testifie the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The Walls that environ this are none now, saies *Favosin*, but in former time it hath been well fenced, some part thereof erected by those two *Tuscan* Brothers, who leaving their Countrey, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called *παραγοί*, *Pe largi*, Storks, *διὰ τὸ πλάττω*, for their wandring, *a Strabo*. *b* *Plinie* sayes their names were *Eurialus* and *Hyperbins*. The two that first built houses of Brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the persons wrong, in putting a false name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Laterarias domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbins fratres Athenis*, &c. *c* *Pausanias*, *εὐρίῳ δ' Ἀχιλλῶι καὶ Τυρρησίῳ*. From these was that part which they edified, called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes* in *Avibus*.

Τὴς δ' αὖ καθ' ἑξῆς τῆς πύλης τὸ Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Simon* the Son of *Miltiades* cloathed. *Pausanias* in the fore-quoted place. These walls admitted no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propylaum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is discommended by *d Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a sum of money. *e* For which he was not smallly troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people, His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing Him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his uncle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsel the *Athenians* were entangled with their neighbour War against the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.

By

a Lib. 9. pag. 397. *b* Nat. h. lib. 1. 7. c. 65

c In *Atic*. p. 26. l. 34.

d Tul. Off. l. 7. 2.

e Val. Max. l. 3. c. 1.

By the way it shall be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *Plutarch* *ἡ δὲ ἀκρόασις ἐς δούκας*, it may be, for his heat in Venerie and ill savour. Goats likewise, says *Varro*, came not thither, unless for a necessary sacrifice once, lest they should hurt the *Olive*, which is said first to have sprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is said to be three score *stadia*. Now a *Stadium* is about some six hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the custom of the ancient Greeks, so to measure the length or distance of grounds or Cities, by the *stadia*. The first City then is contained in seven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houses, able to make a City of themselves. And so indeed were they distinguished by *ἡ ἀνω* & *ἡ κατω πόλις*. The upper and lower City. *h Plutarch*, *ἡ κατω ἐς τοὺς θαλάσσας* *b In Phoc.*
ἐπεθέρτες τὴν ἀνω πόλιν ἀπολαύσαν Note here moreover, in the *P. 549. l. 47.*
reading of your Greek Authors, that when you meet with *τὴν ἀνω* in the description of a Countrey, you presently must conceive the higher part, if it be *τὴν κατω*, the lower. *a Thucydides.*
ἐπεθέρτες τὴν ἀνω πόλιν ἐπὶ ὅτις ἐς θαλάσσας κατω
ἦσαν. And they preyed upon each other, and among the rest, who were not added to the Sea, yet lived below, understand near the Sea, *Schol.* *κατω ἦσαν ἐγγύς τὴν θαλάσσαν.* The *τὴν ἀνω* then and *τὴν κατω* knit together, made but one joynt corporation; both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themselves, took up, as *b Di-*
on Chrysostom writes, two hundred *stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morrellus* produces a *Scholias*t testifying that the walls were *μῆκος ἑ. περὶ στάδιον* *ἑ,* fifteen miles save one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned map had not soon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written *ἑ* for *ἑ*, twenty for fifteen; for so it ought to be. Neither is it strange that it had so large a bound. For consider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may see in *c Pliny*, from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and so to the other side of *Piræum*, four miles *c Nat. hist.*
l. 2. c. 85.

and a quarter. The utmost wall of which *Thucydides* speaks in the second Book, consisted of five miles a quarter & half. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had seven miles and an half more. All which being put together, makes up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chrysostom* must be here understood; and it behoves us to conceive that he spake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold; but I suppose some houses to have been without *απεὶς τῆς πόλεως*, as he saies, τῶν δὲ σιδηρῶν πύλων καὶ τῶν τειχέων. In which I appeal to more judicious heads. Neither can I silently pass by the opinion of *John Meursius*, who reading in *Pausanias* these words, Ἀθλαίοις μὲν δὲν σταδίων μάλιστα ἐκαστὴν ἀφίσταται τῆς πόλεως ἢ περὶ θαλάσσης θάλασσαν, should presently obtrude to us, that *Pausanias* teaches, that the f wall called *Phalericum* is but twenty *stadia*, or two mile and an half. When indeed he meant nothing less. For speaking of salt springs, which he calls θαλάσσης κύματα, he seems to involve a reason drawn from the nearness of the Sea. For when he writes of this brackish well, Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up near Phalerus, is distant from the City but twenty *stadia* at the most, quoth he. Where *Amaseus* hath thus strangely dored. *Athens à Phalero absunt stadia hand amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which follows. He might have likewise considered that *απεὶς* with a Dative case, signifies not only *juxta* and *prope*, as I have translated it, but *supra* sometime, which will now serve better. And *Meursius* indeed blames the number, but sees not into the words. Now it is not needless that the two walls, which joyn *Piræum* and *Athens* at so long a distance, be somewhat spoken of, seeing they are reckoned by *a Livie* among the *multa visenda*, Many things worthy of sight at *Athens*. These are the *ναυεὶς τῶν*, in *b Propertius*, *Thesca brachia longa via.* *c Appian* of *Alexandria* *ναυεὶς οὐκίαν*, and *d Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which *e Plutarch*, The other towards the South,

in

† d Loco citato.

a In Arcad.
p. 244. l. 37.
f Art. Lect.
l. 3. c. 4.

a Lib. 31.
b Lib. 3. Eleg.
19. p. 192.
c In bello
Mith. p. 125.
l. 9.
d Pag. 355.
l. 10.
e In pericle.
p. 115. l. 10.

in height about forty Cubits, as *Scappian* testifies. These are called *διὰ μέτρον* by *g Dion Chorystom*, because *Athens* being at one end, & *Pyraum* at the other, these were drawn forth between. And when Writers speak of *Νότιον διὰ μέτρον*, it may be conjectured that 'tis for distinction of that *Νότιον* which is in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, *b* witness *Pausanias*. *Aristophanes* seems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themistocles* built these: *In i Equitibus*:

Τὸν Περαιᾶ προσέμαχεν.

Which his kScholiast affirms, τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ ὁμιουομένην προσέτι κ. p. 338. βλάψας τῇ πόλει. For Themistocles added Piræum to the City. We read in Plutarch that he was the only Agent in walling the City, & that he so hastened the accomplishing, that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make use of Materials formerly consecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But Plutarch gainsays this, and that he did only πάλιν ὁρίσασθαι τὴν περὶ τὴν πόλιν γῆν τῆς θαλάσσης, i. e. to conjoin the City and Piræum, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It seems somewhat forward before. However, so fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the work soon came to great reparation, which a Cimon the son of Miltiades undertook. For with Stones of a huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth so firm that it could not give. Nay he was so liberal, that he did out of his own expences so great favours to a People, that some years after gratified him with exile. Neither did he only mend the breaches, but in after time finished the whole work, so that he may truly be said to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * Memphis hath observed ten, but I fear they will scarce suffice to such a vast City. Take then these, Dipylon or Thriasia, the fairest of all, velut in ore urbis posita, placed as it were in the front of the City, says Livie, major aliquanto patentiorque quàm cetera est, greater somewhat and wider than the rest. Hence I suppose named Dipylon, as if were as big as two Gates. Πεντάκλι. Pi.

from *Collatia*, a Bridge not far off. And happily it is so here, as also in *Διόμεια*, *Diomea*, for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the City. *Θεσσαλίας*, *Thrace*. These are all that I met with named. Others there are obscurely pointed at by *Pausanias*, as that neer the Gallery, which from its various draughts, they call *Pactis*, where is the effigies of *Mercurius Agoræus* in brass. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace, than speak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates which being opened, enter, suck that sweet air, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgements for contemplation. Whence *Euripides* may well strein to this note, that *Venus* sitting neer and adorning herself, sends forth continually *Cupids of Learning*, *μαρτυροῦντες ἑωυτοῖς Εὐαγγελίαις*. Well may he blest that clime stiling it, *ἡ Αἰωνοποιός αἰθρὴ*, which hath been the mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Maecenas*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmonia*, as if there were no such melodious concert, as in the Sciences. Let not *Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lie under the same temperature & disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it; *οὐκ ἔστιν οὐρανὸς οὐδὲ γῆ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀέρας*. No coast so truly void of all earthly dregs, and participating more of the celestial and deified air. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions, *ἡ πόλις ἡμετέρα*, *famous*, *g The most renowned*, *h Happy*, *i Sacred Athens*. *Pindarus*, *k Wonderful*, *l much spoken of*, *m Neat*, &c. To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to bear Vessels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing lest it might be advantageous to an enemy that might invade them, have cut it into many & sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented that, which they did but suppose could happen.

CAP.

Meursius hath added two, *Ιόνεια*, et *Σαῶνα*, in *Atticis*, which I never saw until I had written this place, as *God* and *man* is witness. I speak least any should think I have not a out of him, because we meet. *g Atticis p. 141 c. 11.* *a Calliod. Var. l. 12.* *b Medea p. 460, 461.* *c Med. p. 459.* *d In Praef. ad Charact.* *e Tom. 1. p. 173.*

f Aia. p. 57. *g Oed. Col. p. 258.* *h Oed. Col. p. 264.* *i Aia. p. 71.* *k Imp. p. 391.*

CAP. III.

Ἀτικοί, Ἀδωαῖοι, *Mores, & Ingenia.* τὴ μὴ βλεψέον. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habent.*

l ἐς βίη ΕΛ.
λὺθ.
p. 169.

m Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 9.

a Act. 17.

b In Plutop. 38.

e Var. hist. lib. 3. c. 7.

THE Athenians by *IDicaarchus* are divided into two sorts, *Ἀτικοί, Atticos*, and *Ἀδωαῖοι*. Of which, though there were no difference in later times, yet certainly of old there was. Inasmuch as one of the punishments, which the *Athenians* are said to inflict upon their women (for the appeasing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great damage, in anger conceived for loss of the Title of the City) was this, *m* That none should after call them *Ἀδωαῖοι*, *Athenians*, but *Ἀτικοί*, *Atticos*. A revenge I suppose opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. *Οἱ μὲν ὀφείλοισι ταῖς λαλιαῖς ὕπατοι, συκοφαντοῖσι, παραρηχῶσι ἢ ξενικῶν βίαν.* *Curious babblers, Deceitful, Calumniators, Observers of the lives of strangers.* *Πείλοισι ταῖς λαλιαῖς.* A sufficient witness of this is a *St Luke*, that saies, *They did regard nothing more than to hear and speak novelty.* To which end they often met in Barbers shops, where all news, that was going in those days, were currant. Hence say we, *verba in con- strinis proculcata*; and in Greek ἐπὶ τῆς κυρίας λόγῳ, *b Aristophanes.*

Καὶ τοι λόγῳ γ' ὧν, ἐν ἧ Ἡρακλῆα, πολὺς

ἔσσι πῶς κυρίως καὶ δηλοῦνται.

Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, μὴν ἔστι πῶς καὶ

They that sate in Barbers shops did talk much that he was suddenly grown rich. The Scholiast seems to take the meaning, as if the Comedian had quipped them for resorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I see no reason. They met in both to prattle, *c Alian.* *Καθὼς ἔοικε ἐν ἰατρῇ, τοιοῦτος, ὡς καὶ ἀγρεύει ἐν πηλῇ περὶ*

διγ

ἡ δὲ πόλις. Sitting in a Chyrurgions shop, scandalous, and thir-
 sty to speak ill by all means, ὅμοιοι, men Italianated, who
 can smile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophrastus* ^{d Cap. 65.}
 hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to
 their Enemies, and disguise their hatred in commendation,
 while they privily lay their snares; that salute with mortal
 Embracements, and claspe you in those armes, which they
 mean to embrew in your dearest Blood. In sum, fair with-
 out, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above
 and seems sound, but putrifies under the skin. And so much
 the word doth import. Συκοφαντῶντες, Given to false accu- ^{e In Plur.}
 sations. The *e* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes, That it being ^{pag. 5.}
 forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and some, neverthe-
 less the Decree being absolute against it, presuming so to do,
 they set Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as
Plutarch likewise.) Hence came this word to be used for ^{f In Solone}
 any crafty Knaave that gets his living by promoting, ^{pag. 65.}
συκοφαντίας ζῆν, One that meddles in every mans affairs, and ^{g ὅμοιοι Xenophon.}
 therefore *h Aristophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the ^{Εὐλωκ. β.}
 Stage, terming himself an *Overseer* both of private and pu- ^{p. 271. l. 20.}
 blick matters. If then such a person had espied any tripping, ^{pluto p. 90.}
 and gotten him on the hip, he would as sure have fetched ^{c. p. 91. b.}
 him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a person de-
 linquent towards the flesh, or any Lawyer a Credulous Cli-
 ent, and having wel plumed him, afterwards give him a Di-
 missory. *Εὐλωκ* (*Sycophantæ*) ὡς δὲ παρ' ὧν γένηται λαμβάνουσιν, ^{i Εὐλωκ. β.}
 ζῆν εἶναι. *Xenophon*. Such were many in *Athens*, insomuch that ^{p. 271. l. 19.}
Aristotle being asked what *Athens* was, answered *παστῶν*, all ^{a Ὁδυσ. η.}
beautiful, *ὡς δὲ* ὅταν ἴτ' ὅταν γινέσκει, πικρὸν δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, in a verse
 of a *Homer*, in the description of *Alcinous* his Garden, but
 pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a
 continual succession of *sycophants*, this made *Isocrates*, the O-
 rator to compare the city to a *Curtizan* with whom few there
 were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife; affir-
 ming it the best place to sojourn in, but the worst to inhabit:

By

By reason of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Orators. Παγετμεναι ἢ ἔστιν ὁ βίος. I was once half in an opinion that these words were to have been put to the former, thus; συνεπαύσεσθαι δεσπῆται ἢ ἔστιν ὁ βίος. And I think the fence will run well, *Malicious observers of the lives of strangers.* The Athenians were φιλόξενοι, and held hospitality sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That forrainers should receive no wrong,* ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. *b* *Socrates* in *Xenophon*. Now he discommends the Ἀττικοὶ as ready to trouble and vex strangers in law, duly marking & bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage. As for the *Athenienses* they were μεγαλόψυχοι, ἀπλοὶ πρὸς τρεῖς, φίλοι, γνήσιοι φίλοι, *Brave spirited, single dealing, & faithful friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners degenerate, growing into ἀνισομελία τῆς εὐπρίας, *an irregularity of nature* as *c* *Polybius*. Νομὴ μεγαλόψυχια afterwards, but haughtiness of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And whē *d* *Livy* says, *Ex vetere fortuna nihil prater animos servare*, he means, they had nothing left but those proud spirits; which their ancient flourishing fortune hath puffed up. No ἀπλότης or simplicity, no *e* *lamb-like* innocence, or mildness; but as *f* *Plutarch* speaks, people rashly angry, soon piteous, rather inclined sharply to take Opinion, than quietly to be Enformed. And as they are ready to help base and abject peasants, so friendly do they entertain childish and ridiculous toys, rejoicing in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility, Fearful and terrible even to their Governors, humane towards their Enemies. Not unfitly then *g* *Valerius Maximus*, *Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, &c.* How deserve they to be blamed who though they had just laws, yet had most wicked dispositions, and chose rather to take their own courses, than put in practice their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to express a countenance void of shame, the Comedian hath put Ἀττικὸν βλέπειν, *An Athenian look*, in *h* *Nubibus*. φιλοὶ γνήσιοι φίλοι, So accounted in the time of a *Paterculus*,

b *Atheniensis*.
β. p. 4. 28.

c *Lib. 6.*

d *Dec. 4. p. 7.*
l. 1

e *Aristoph.*
pag. 694.

f *πολιτ. παρ.*
εαγ. p. 387.

g *Lib. 5. c. 3.*
pag. 207.

h *Pag. 189. g.*
a *Lib. 2. p. 47.*

culm, that what was done in sincerity and faithful trust, the Romans would say it was performed *sic Attica*, with an Athenian loyalty. Fear and power might make them trusty, but how they broke their Leagues, took part with other Islanders against confederates, and violated the Laws of arms, Historians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was *ἀσμεντος*, ever mindful, as *b Virgil. memor ira*. And the hatred they *b Æneid. 1.* prosecuted the Barbarians withal, was so unquenchable, that it burned against *c* all Barbarians for the Persians sake; and *c Isocras. in* they forbad them their Sacrifices, as they used to do murder- *Pan. 109.* ers among them: Where you must note, that all that were not *Gracians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But loe! how are they now become all *barbarous*! whether or no people of *Africa*, or some of the *Catelan*, I cannot justly tell. *Mahum-* sans all, poor and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or *d Hædæp.* tilling the earth, *d Favolius. Duraq; concti* *Byz. l. 3.*

Pauperie assuerunt vitam tolerare rapinâ.

Aut passim infestant furto, rapiôq; propinqua

Æquora pirata, sed quæ pars æquior, hamis

Fallit inescatos teresi sub arundine pisces.

Aut desolatæ exercet vomere terras,

Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium ægna.

Opprest with need, they do their life sustain

By rapine, and annoy the neighbour main

With pillaging. Who are more just and good,

With angling do the filthy fish delude;

Or plough the grounds made desolate before,

Unhappy, wretched, mis'able, still poor.

CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμήτορες, Δαμιουργοί, Περσάων
 Προσέτιμοι, Ἰσπανοί, Ζελύται, Θῆτες. Quid Atheniensibus cum
 Aegyptiis commune.

e So doth Di-
 onysius Heli-
 carnassicus,
 divide them
 into
 εὐπατρίδας
 & ἀγροίκους,
 lib. 2. n. 2.

a Pollux. l. 8.
 c. 9. p. 404.

b In Solone.

c Pag. 61. In
 Solonem.

There were at first two kinds of People in Athens, e two
 orders, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaq; aliquid
 interlucebat, in which there was difference of dignity and
 fortune: such as at this day are in France, either Peers or
 Peasants; or as in Venice, Patricians and Plebeians. And al-
 though Pollux calls them τρία ἔσονται, three sorts, yet I make but
 two, because the γεωμήτορες were not any way more gentile for
 blood, surpassing for riches, or happy for life. But because he
 hath so set them, take them thus, as he speaks, a τρία γὰρ
 ἔσονται πάντα, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμήτορες, Δαμιουργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, Eupa-
 tridae, were such as were descended from the loyns of those
 Heroes, famous in Greek History, whose families were ever re-
 nowned, and posterity propagated to many generations, such
 as Praxiergide, Eteobutada, Alcmaeonide, Cynide, Ceryces, &c.
 whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμήτορες,
 Geomori, may not seem unlike our Yeomen, who had land of
 their own, and sustained themselves with the fruit and com-
 modity of these their possession. Δαμιουργοί, Dimiurgi, were
 men of some handy-craft, Trades-men, such as Tent-makers,
 Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Masons, & the like. But Solon made
 another division. For when the Diacrii, which were those
 that lived in the upper part of the City, οὐκ ἐν ἀστυ, says Dia-
 genes Laertius, and the Pedieai, which likewise are πεδινῶν, such
 as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the Pa-
 ralií who lived near the Sea, were at contention about Go-
 vernment. The Diacrii leaning to a Democratic, as e Plutarch
 writes, the Pedieai to an Oligarchy, and the Paralií between
 both, and had chosen Solon to arbitrate and determine the
 matter

matter; he made these four ranks. πεντακοσιμέδιμνος, ἱππῆς, ζεύγῃται, θῆται, *Pentacosimedimnos Equites, Zeugites, Thetai*: *Pentacosimedimni* were those who ἐν εὐρεῖ ὁρῇ καὶ ὕδατι *d Plut. p. 65.* could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Posellus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here, for he supposes that *Pentacosimedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὕδατι: For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzivirii* printed at *Leyden, An. 1635.* under the name of *Posellus*, who was sometimes a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and Author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Atheniensium*. *Equites* were such as were of ability to keep a horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἱππῆς πεντακοσιμέδιμνος. *Zeugitea*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could bear office in the Common wealth. A fourth rank which is called θῆται, *Thetai*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal publick. But it had not been a mis if I had shewn how the *Egyptians* had divided their people into three Classes as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatrie* addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honor, answer to the *Egyptians* Priests, *f Plut. Thef. p. 8. l. 18.* Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Enmolpida, Ceryces, Cynida*. For out of the stock were chosen Priests, hence ἱπποκῶν καὶ γῆς in *d Demosthenes*. The *Geometri* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Egypt* who hold possessions on these tearms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight, The *Demiurgi* resemble those *Plebeians*, who skilful in some Art, did set out their labor to daily hire, as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie. *g Pag. 741. num. 164.*

e Plutarch. loco prædicto.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope, mutata eorum nomina. Augentur à Clithene: dua addita. septem. septem. Τετρί. Γύθ Τρίβυλον. Κοινωρία. γυλῆτινὰ δὲ ἴππια, & ὄρμη.

IN Athens there were but four Tribes under the rule of Cecrops. *Cecropis, Antekthon, Aetha, Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais, Atikis, Mesogaa, Diacris*. I suppose from the parts of Attica, it lying partly near the Sea, thence *Aetha*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Mesogaa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour that Tribe so much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as Cecrops gave the first names, *Cranais* the second, each assuming a title to himself. *Eriethonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan*. *Διὰς, Ἀθηνᾶς, Ποσειδωνίδος, Ἡφαιστίδος*. But when *Ion* came to rule, they were named after his four sons, *Geleontes, Egicoridis, Argades, Hopletes* as a *Herodotus* and *b Euripides*. Though *Plutarch* saies that they were so called, *c* *ἐκ τῶν ἡρώων ἐς τὰ ἀντιπρόσωπα οἱ βίον τὸ πρῶτον*, from the courses of life which they first took. But *Clithenes*, a man factious and wealthy, is said by the Council of *d Apollo, Alcmaon* being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from some Demigods or *Heroes*, born in that land, all except *Ajax* whom though a stranger, he put to the rest as a neighbour & companion, *e Herodotus*. These then were called *Ἐπαύριοι*; as you would say, giving names; the word so signifies sometimes, as *Minerva* is said by *Dion Chrysostom*, *Ἐπαύριος Ἀθηνᾶς*, who gave the names to *Athens*. To these were erected Statues near the Council place of the Senate. Their names are these, as *f Pausanias* bath them, *Hippothoon, Antiochus, Ajax Telamonius*,

a In Terpsich. p. 137.

b In Ione versus finem.

c In Solon. p. 65.

d Aristides T. 1. p. 316.

A. T. 3. p. 352

e In Terpsich. p. 137.

f In Ant. p.

4. 5.

nus, Leo, Erichon that flew Immaradus the Son of Eumolpus in the Eleusinian War, Ægeus, Oeneus, Acamæus, Cecrops, Pandion. From these twelve Tribes, Atticus, Asotus, Oeneus, Karpotus, and others. To which they put two more, one called after Antigonus, the other after Demetrius his name in gratitude to them for the favours received; which in process of time they changed into Attalis, and Ptolemais, as Stephanus writes, *ἡ δὲ πόλις ἑκατέρωθεν τῶν βασιλέων*, having been courteously entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that Livy deceive us not, who at the time, when Attalus did succor the Athenians against Philip, saies, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the Rhodians rescued four fighting Ships of the Athenians taken by the Macedonians, and sent them home, *a Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda*. Thus have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all. Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. b Eusebius writes that they were divided in imitation of the year the four Tribes according to the four Quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call *τρίτῃς* or *τρίτῃς* answerable to the twelve Months, each *εἰς τρία* or *τρίτῃς*, into thirty *ἡμέρας* or kinreds, equalizing the daies. For so many only had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of c Cleobulus concerning the year.

Εἰς τὰς τρεῖς, καὶ εἰς τὰς τρεῖς, τὸ ἔτος ἅπλον
καὶ εἰς τρεῖς καὶ εἰς τρεῖς, τὸ ἔτος ἅπλον.

One Father had twelve Sons, & each Son thirty Daughters; and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governors, *ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων*, Kings of the Tribes, who sat upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer called *τρίτῃς* the Ruler of the *Tristys* or *Phratia*. The word may seem to signifie a Society; Fellowship; or

* These are reckoned among the Eponyms in Paul. p. 5. who had statues 1 k. wife. a decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

b In ll. c. pag 181.

c Laertius p. 63. l. 1.

Com-

Company: it skills not whether you derive it from *πηγία*; *Eustath*, or *πηγία*, as *Snidas*, or *πηγία*, as others which is a Well, because they drew water from the same Well. For the place being scanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one well-spring in *Athens*, they were constrained to use *πηγία* *μυροί*, digged Wells, as *d Plutarch*. *Φεγγοί* are the men of that society, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had, if any *Lacides* should come into his Farm, in discription of which thing *Plutarch* uses *Φυβόν*, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as *αγροί* and *συνεργάτης*) but *popularis*: These at Festival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Eustathius* observes and *b Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engrossed in their Books, as shall be hereafter spoken, with the reasons thereof) *Φεγγοί* *ζην*, *Phratrizein*, from hence comes, which is *τὸ εἰς Φεγγοί* *συνεῖναι*, to meet, for so *Eustathius* in another place, *εἰς ταὐτὸ συνεῖναι*. As for the *γῆν*, or kinreds, we must not think that they were of one blood, but of that neer conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society. *Γένεαι* (every *γένεα* or kinred consisting of thirty, whence they were named *τριακίδες*) *ἡ προσήκουστος*, *ἐκ δὲ τῆ συνόδου* *ἔτι* *προσσηκούσιν*. Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod which the Grammarians call *σύστημα κοινωνικόν* a Communicative familiarity, *κοινωνία*, being a participating in one thing or having an equal share in the same Priviledges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindly entertain each other. *δῆπνα* *φυλικά* and *φρατρία* *b Athenæus*. *Τῶν δὲ παλαιῶν δέπνων προέβητος οἱ τομάρχαι καὶ τὰ φυλικά δῆπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικά προέβησαν, ἃ καὶ τὰς διαβύς καὶ τὰ φρατρία* &c. of Feasts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular. Moreover

d In Solone
p. 65. l. 33.

a Illiad. β.
pag. 1181. &
ll. 7. p. 629
b Lib. 3. c. 4.

b Dignosoph.
l. 5 p. 185. d.

Moreover *Thiasis* for Colledges (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Masters) and *Phratrica* for the same Ward. Hence *ἑταίριον τῶν φίλων*, and *ἑταίριον τῶν φιλῶντων*. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipsosophist* gives, saying, That Wine hath *ἡλικυτικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν*, an attractive and perswading force to procure love and friendship.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere δῆμον. Quot? Tempia & sacra pagatim.

ALLGreece was inhabited *κώμαι*, as *Thucydides* speaks, c Lib. 1.
by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comædy. d Donst. in Pref in Ter.
At verò nondum coactis in urbem Atheniensibus, cum Apellini Nomio, in est, Pastorum vicinorumque præsidii Deo, constructis aris in honorem divina rei circum Attica vicos, villas, & compita festum carmen solemniter cantarent: orta est Comædia *ἐν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἁδῶν*, quod est, *commessatum ire cantantes.* The Athenians being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they sung sacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the President to the *Sheep-beards* and *Neighbours*, about the Villages, Houses, and cross ways of *Attica*, Altars being built in honor of the celebrity, sprung up a Comædy, *ἐν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἁδῶν*, from reveling and singing. Others will have it derived from an ancient custome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the street where the offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, *αὐτὸς δὴν αἰσῶν*, a Thomas Magister.
καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, διὼν ὄντων, καὶ νόμων. Such a one doth wrong, and commits such and such Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws, by which these abuses were reformed. But the *Anonymous*, in a Preface to *Aristophanes*, sayes, *μὴ κώμαι καλεῖται παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλὰ δῆμοι*, that they were not called *κώμαι*, or Villages by the Athenians, but *δῆμοι*, which they translate

late *Populus*, better in my mind, oppida, or Towns. *Cicero* ad b. *Atticum*. Venio ad *Piræa* in quo magis reprehendendus sum, quod homo Romanus *Piræa* scripserim non *Piræum* (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt) quam quod *M. addiderim*. Non enim hoc ut oppido praposisi, sed ut de loco: & tamen *Dionysius* noster, qui est nobiscum, & *Nicias* Cons, non rebatur oppidum esse *Piræa*, sed de eo videro. Nostrium quidem si est peccatum, in eo est, quod non ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco: secutusque sum non dico *Cæcilium*, Mane ut ex portu in *Piræum* (navis enim auctor *Latinitatis* est) sed *Terentium* cuius fabella propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à *Caio* *Lalio* scribi. Heri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in *Piræum*, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat caput de *Sunio*. Quod si diuus oppida volumus esse, tam est oppidum *Sunium* quam *Piræus*. Ifso be we will have diuus to be Towns, *Sunium* as well as *Piræus* is a Town. These were formerly Kingdoms, as c *Pausanias* testifies. *ῥαχτιλιν δὲ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς δήμους οὐδας πολλὰς, αἵ τ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἑρμῇ ἐβασίλευον τὸ Κόρυον* &c. Moreover, I have written, that some of the Towns were governed by a King before the reign of *Cecrops*. And no marvel, for some of them far surpassed other Cities, as *Aristides* affirmeth. These were most peculiar to the Athenians, anciently called *ναυδάμειοι*, as c *Aristoph.* Schol. or *Ναυδαίειοι*, as f *Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliftbenes* changed them into diuus as out of *Aristotle* the Schol. of *Aristoph.* The number of them is, g *Eustathius* out of *Strabo* and h *Casaubon*, an hundred seventy four. Some whereof having the same name are distinguished according to their situations, *ὑψηλῶν* and *κατακειμένων*, as we may say the upper and lower *Wakefield*, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Lesser. The *ἑμμεροὶ* or less are these, *Alimusii*, *Zoster*, *Prospaltii*, *Anagyrafi*, *Cephale*, *Prasii*, *Lampreii*, *Phlyeis*, *Myrrinusi*, *Ashmoneii*, *Acharna*, *Marathon*, *Brauron*, *Rhamnus*. The rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their Tribes.

bLib.7.Ep.3

c. Artificis p. 30
l. 42.

d In Panath.
T. 1. p. 326.
e Nub. pag.
225. c.
f L. 8. p. 430.
g In II. b. p.
215.
h In Athenæ.
um 1. 6. c. 9.

i Pausan. Att.
pag. 30.

ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰζών, Δαδάλιδαι, Επικίδαι, Εὐπήμε, πύθ, Στυλαγίδαι,
Τριπέλαις, Αθμονίδαι ἢ Αθμορίαι, Αλαί, Αἰξανίδαι, Φαῦα, Ἐχονε,
Dadalide, Epiceide, Xypete, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinomei, Ath-
monon or Athmonia, Ala, Echonides. Phlya.

ΕΡΕΧΘΙΣ.

Αγροῦλη ἢ Αγρόλη, Εὐωνυμία ἢ Εὐώνυμος, Θίμακος ἢ Θίμακος.
Κυρσία, Λαμπρά καθύπερθε, Λαμπρά ὑπὸνερθεν, ἢ περὶ ἄνω,
παμβωπίδαι, περγασή, Συβρίδαι, Φηγύς, Αναγυρίς, Agraulis or
Agryle, Eponymia or Eponymus, Themaci or Themacus, Ge-
phisia, The upper Lampra, The lower Lampra, in which Sigo-
ninus erres, calling one the maritimate, the other the inferior,
which to be one and the same I have shewed above, Pambo-
rade, Pergase, Sybrida, Phegus, Anagyrus.

πανδονίς.

Αγγαλή, Κυδαθηνάων, Κύδεραι, Οα ἢ Οαίς, πυαγιά καθύπερ-
θεν, πυαγιά ὑπὸνερθεν, τελευτήθ. Στενεί, Φηγία Μυρρινίς.
Angele, Cydathenaeum, Cytharum, Oa or Oeis, the upper Pe-
ania, the under Peania, Probalanthus, Süria, Phegae, Myr-
rhinus.

ΑΙΓΥΝΙΣ.

Αλαί, Αεσφινίδαι, Αεσφίαι, Βατή, Γαρδνίθαι, Διομαία, Ερεχθία, Εέ-
κεια, Εχρία, Ικαρία ἢ Ικαίη, Κολυτῖναι, Κυδαττίδαι, πλοθία,
Τίθεαι, Χογιάς, Φιλαιδαι, Χολιδαι, Αλα, Αραφηνίδαι, Αρα-
φην, Βατε, Gardettus, Diomaa, Erethia, Ericria, Echria,
Icaria or Icarus, Ionida, Colyttus, Cydantide, Plothea, Tithras.
Phigea, Philade, Chullide.

ΑΙΣΧΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Αγυρίς, Ελειπίδαι, Ερμίδαι ἢ Ερμίδαι, Ηρακλίδαι, Θίμης, Ιπία,
Κίσιαι, Σοφίδαι, Χίλαργος, Χίλαργος, Χολαργία, Κροαί, πρὸς
Σπαρτο, Agnus, Eriside, Hermus or Hermi, Hephestiade,
Thoricus, Itea, Ciccyana, Sphettus, Cholargus, Cholargi, Cholar-
gia, Cephalé, Prospalta.

ΑΙΣΟΝΙΣ.

Αἰδαλίδαι, Αἰθαλία, Αρῖστα, Δράδαι, Εἰγλή, Εὐνεϊδαι, Κρότοι,

D

Κροτία,

Κρωτία, Λυκόνιον, Οϊον, Κίεσσ, Παιονίδα, Πήληνε, ποτομίδε,
Σάμωνίδα, Σύνιον, Τβω, Τβάδω, Φρίαρροι, Μαεσθών, Αλιμύς,
ε*Æthalida, Æthalia, Aphidna, Dirades, Hecale, Syprada,*
Cetti, Cropsia, Leuconium, Ocum, Ceramicum, Peonide, Pela-
ces, Potamus, Scambonide, Sunium, Hyba, Hybade, Phrearrri,
Marathon, Alimus.

Ιεθεοοντίε.

Αζώνια, Αμαξαντία, Ανάσια, Αχερσέ, Δεκέλεια, Ελαιέ,
Ελαύε, Ελευσίε, Ερσιάδω, Θωσιτάδω, Κενιάδω, Κερυδαλλίε,
Οϊον Δίκωλ, Οϊόν Ελϋθ, Σενδάλω, *Azenia, Amaxantea, Ana-*
caa, Achardus, Decelia, Eleusis, Aræada, Thy-
matada, Ceriada, Corydallus, Ocum Decelicum, Ocum ad
Eleutheras, Sphendale.

Αγτιοχίε.

Αγυλία ή Αγία, Αλατινέ, Αλατινέ, Αμπερσιπé, Ανάστασε,
Απών, Απώια, Βήσσα, Θογγί, Κελών, Λόπυρρα, Μελανέ, ή Μί-
λαιναι, Παλλών, Πεντέλε, Συμαχίδω, Φάληρε, *Ægilia or Egi-*
lus, Alepece or Alepeca, Amphitrope, Anaphylstus, Aene or
Azenia, Bessa, Thora, Crion, Leucopyra, Melaneia or Mela-
ne, Pallene, Pentele, Samachida, Phalerum.

Διαγτίε.

Οϊόν Μιέρθ, Τιταχίδω, Τευερθ, Ραμύε, Oenoe at Mara-
thon. *Titacida, Tricoryebus Rhamnus.* Of this tribe were
some towns taken away & put to other, *Aphydna, Perside, &c.*

Ουρίε.

Βύττω, Βυτιάδω, Επικηφισία, Θρία ή Θείω, Ιεποπομάδω, Λαχία,
Λακιάδω, Λυσία, Μελίω, Οδ ή Οϊν, ωεβοδω, πταλία, Φολή,
Αχαρνα, Τυρμιδω. *Butea, Butade, Epicephisia, Thria or Thrio,*
Hippotomade, Lacia, Laciade, Lusia, Melite, Oë or Oea, Pe-
riabæda, Ptelea, Phyle, Acharna, Tyrmida.

Πτολεμαίε.

Βαρενιάδω, Θυργονιάδω. *Berenicida, Thyrgonida.* Κορθύλη,
Conthyle.

Απελανίε.

Απελανίε, *Apollonijes.* These are all, which Authors
make

make mention of, according to their Tribes, others there are which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they. *Agra*, *Anchesmus*, *Amphiade*, *Archilæa*, *Astypalæa*, *Atalanta*, *Achradus*, *Belbina*, *Brauron*, *Brilessus*, *Enna*, *Echelida*, *Zoster*, *Trion*, *Cala*, *Ceda*, *Cothocida*, *Cocle*, *Cynosarges*, *Cerameicus* without the City, the same with *Academia*, *Laurium*, *Lenæum*, *Limæa*, *Munychia*, *Parnes*, *Pnyx*, *Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Scirum*, *Sporgilus*, *Hydrusa*, *Hymæstus*, *Hysia*, *Phaura*, *Phormissi*, *Phorittii*, *Phoron*, *Chitone*, *Oropus*. To which are put the Ilands called *Pharmacusa*, two in number, and *Psytallia*. The Scholiast of a *Aristophanes* speaks as if ^a *In Rania* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among Authors, is in their form of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud or deceit, that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we of such punctual clauses in their Writs N. the son of N. dwelling at *Alopeca*, in *Kelans*, in *Melitus*, in *Kozgulus*. of *Cala*, of *Melise*, of *Cerameis*. In these villages were Temples of the Gods. ^b *Livie. Templâ pagatim sacrata.* And again, *Delubra sibi fuisse, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis viisque consecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui desertâ relinquerent.* So much witnesseth *c Pausanias*, who tells us, that they worshipped some peculiar Deity; and yet nevertheless ^c *In Atticis* did τὸν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγειν ἐς τὴν, honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar Festivals, as *Brauron* the solemnities of *Brauronaæ*, to *Diana Diomea*, to *Jupiter Diomani*, *Chitonia*, &c.

P. 235.

^b Dec. 4. l. 1.

P. 12. 18.

^c In Atticis

77. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τουτου δὲ Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. Atheniensium status mutatio.
Isopi's Σατύρων Μύα. Δδζ.

* In Ctesiphontem, p. 4.

THe ancients had but three sorts of government. *Tyrannis*, *Democratia*, *Oligarchia*, as *d* *Æschines*, which *Polybini* calls βασιλεία, ἀριστοκρατία, δημοκρατία where although the one names it a *Tyrannia* or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία, the rule of a King, yet must we understand the same, For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath observed. A word taken up by the *Græcians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer* nor *Hesiod* knew; & therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἰδὼς τε παλαιό τις, for calling the Kings, or βασιλῆς, before the Trojan Wars, Tyrants or Tyrannous. βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obedience is free, yielded rather out of a good advice, than for fear or might. ἀριστοκρατία *Aristocratic*, when most wise and just men are fitly chosen to sit at the Helm of the Weal publick. Δημοκρατία a *Democratie*, when the Laws and customs of the Countrey in matters both belonging to Gods and men are truly observed, and that rules the rest, which shall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δέξαι τῆς πλείονος φαίει *Polybius*; as that may be said at a banquet to please all, which doth relish well with the most. But the grave historian hath observed changes in such government, as they use to be inclining to the worst; Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the persuasions of some pleasing a popular man, and are as it were, willingly constrained to take the yoke that his usurping authority shall lay on them; a Tyrant indeed said, *b* *Vi consecutus*, who gets it by violence, *c* *Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, qua libertate*

a *Aristot.* 1. pol. l. 5. c. 4.
b *Probus* in *Miltiade*.
c *Probus* ib. pag. 17.

bertate usa est. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocratie*, or government of the best men, such as are well brought up & exercised in virtue. The end of an *Aristocratie* being as *d Aristotle* ^{d Pol. l. 4. c. 9.} hath it, *Virtus*, which is of no long continuance, doth soon degenerate, *εἰς τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν παραπίπτει καὶ εὐθὺς*, naturally inclin^{e Pol. l. 4. c. 9.}ing to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches. And because that many in a State cannot be wealthy, therefore the number of them cannot be great. These are great Lords and little Kings, whose power swaies all, and not the Laws, who unjustly favour those that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their libertie against them. All things being administred *ἐκ τῶν ἄριστων* ^{Æthines.} by their presidents. Such dominion is in *Cra.* taken away by the people set on rage, not bearing *τὴν ἀδικίαν* ^{the injuries of their Rulers.} Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls *ἐπὶ τῷ πλείοντι λόγῳ*, the power of a multitude, whose end is freedom, when all can equally partake of the same priviledges and immunities, who are true Citizens: whence *Terence* styles it *aquam libertatem*, for which the *Greek Orators* have properly used the word *μαρτία*, as *g Ulpian* observeth. But the vulgar for the most ^{g In Demost.} part strangely insolent, prone to wrong, and ready to trespass ^{pag 59.} against the Lawes, bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kind of government an *Ochlocratie*, the Rule of Rascallitie. All these in their times did *Athens* feel, for they were governed by Kings four hundred eighty seven years: the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorians* and *Athenians* offered himself willingly to be slain, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo*: that the *Dorians* should be conquerours unless the *Athenian King* were killed, he therefore cloathing himself *famulari veste ne posset agnosci*, saies a *Cicero*, with a servants habit lest he should be ^{a Tusc. Q. l. 11.}

b Justin. 1. 2.

c Justin. 1. 2.

d Heraclides
in Pol.e Herodotus
1. 5. p. 135.

known, put himself among the enemies, by one of which in a brawl he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, *b quod memoria nominis ejus tributum est*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or Judges ruled; in Title *ἄρχοντες*, *Arch. ntes*, but in power Kings, whose authority was for term of life. These continued three hundred and fifteen years. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but ten years; seven succeeded each other, and made up the number of seventy years; who, because they abused their power, were made but for one year, called therefore *c annui Magistratus*, yearly Magistrates. These continued until *Pisistratus* for a feigned fear of the Seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safety; For when the Faction sprung up, of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himself with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, *ἀπαγείν*, and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens, who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed d thirty years, and deceased, leaving behind him two sons, *Hippiarchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hippiarchus* was slain by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the *Asbenians* lived under a tyranny four years, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, the offspring of *Alcmaon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for counsel he should wish them to free the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democratie* came in eight hundred sixty eight years after *Cecrops*, established by *Solen*, who excluded the fifth rank of plebeity from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocrasie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sici-*

ly, the *Τετρακισιοι* or four hundred took upon them state, deceiving the people, as *f* *Aristotle* and *Thucydides* affirm. *f* Pol. c. 57. For persuading them that they should reconcile *Tissaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themselves by that means, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the War, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one and twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* War. These Princes were called *α πέντε χίλιοι, τετρακισιοι* *ἑρμι*, Five thousand, though not exceeding four hundred. The reason is, because they boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bare arms; nor any admitted to publick power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficial to the Republicque. Their authority was granted by an *ἄ* Act of the people, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive out, whereupon they termed him *κόρυς*, *Coturnum*, from a kind of start. up which did sit both feet, *ἡ δὲ κόρυς ἀμύβλην ἔχει τοῖς ποσσὶ ἀμύβληται αὐτῇ*. The word may sute with a Jack of both sides. These *τετρακισιοι* were constrained for fear of *d Alcibiades* to resign the right unto the people, and to go into wilful banishment. But when *Lysander* had overcome *Athens* (the *Lacedæmonians* ever affecting an *Oligarchie*, as the *Athenians* a *Democratie*) he ordained these thirty to be chief. *f* Pol. l. 5. c. 7. *Lyarches, Critias, Melchius, Hippolechus, Euclides, Hiero, Mnesticus, Chremus, Theramenes, Arelias, Diocles, Phadrias, Charileos, Anatinus, Piso, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Oenomochles, Theognis, Æschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erastriatus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Maesticides*. These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, saies *g* *Salust*, without trial of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; *h* some for envy, others for riches. These to make their party firm, chose about three thousand, to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their lawes (for they made some

g Pol. c. 57.
h Lib. 9.

a Plat. in Alcib. p. 148.

b Xen. ELL. c. 274. l. 38.

c Xen. p. 275.

d Justin. l. 5.

e Arist. Pol.

f Pol. l. 5. c. 7.

g Xen. ELL. c. 270.

h In Catil. Consp.

b Xen. p. 272.

Xen. p. 273.

Dem. p. 467.

a Vide Laert.
in v. 12, &
Strabonem.

b Plur. in
Demetrio.
c Pollux. l. 8.

some, stiled *ἐκκλησίαι νόμοι*, which were nullified by a decree, (as we shall speak hereafter) none was to suffer *ἐκκλησίαι νόμοι*, who was Registered in the List of the three thousand. So cruel were they, that the people fled into *Phyle* a Castle in the *Athenian* borders; and making a head under the conduct of *Thrasybulus*, at last shook off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander*, even fourscore years, whom *Antipater* succeeded; who in Battle at the City *Lamia* gave the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave them quarters on these terms, that they should submit to a few *Peers*, whose Revenues amounted to two thousand *Drachmes* at least, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*; that they should likewise receive a garrison into *Munychia* for the allwaging of riots and uproars. But four years after, *Antipater* dying, the City fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they often strove to acquit themselves. But in vain. For he brought them to such an exigency, that they were glad to come to composition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, so that they would be confederates to him, that none, whose Revenues come not to ten *mina* or pounds, should undergo any function in the Common-weale; and he should be their Overseer whom he would be pleased to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalareus*, a who made the City to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in honor of him three hundred Statues. He wrote a Treatise of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no small light to my poor endeavours. After he in trouble and vexation had spent fourteen years, he was put out by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, surnamed *Poliorcetes*, who restored the ancient Customes to them again. To him they ascribed such worship, as also to his Father, that they changed the name of their *Judge* from *Archon* into *ἱερεὺς ἱερῶν*, The Priest of the Gods that saved them, calling the year after his name, and adding c two Tribes to the

the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as *c* *Stephanus*. But when *Cassander* had overthrown the Sonne and Father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach near their City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming again the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying, *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reign put in presiduary souldiers to the City, which tenne years after hee took out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenian* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon.* *F. & Antigonus Dofon*, out of whose hands *d* *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the City, and made it stand by it self untill *Philip*, the last King of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in *e* *Livie*. But he was expelled by the *Romans*, who took the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained until the Warre between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by fear they were driven to receive *f* *Archestratus*, *Mithridates* his General, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded *ἀνάλαις* *Coazyd*, a merciless slaughter, sayes *Appian*, that the *g* streets did run with blood. But the Laws were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a near resemblance of their former state; in favour with the *Roman Emperour*; *Julius Caesar*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Gallienus*, in whose successors time, *Claudius* the second of that name, the City was ransacked by the *Goths*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of Books to burn, were dehorted by this reason, *That the Greeks, spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for War*. *Constantine the Great*, likewise had this City in high esteem, taking to himself the Title of *Σεβαστὸς Ἀδριανῶν*, as *b* *Julian* says, which in the words of *c* *Nicephorus Gregoras* is τὸ τῷ μαζαλῷ Δουκὲς (*δοικα*) the *Grand Duke*, whom simply af-

c In Berenice.

d Plut. in vita.

e Decad. 1. l. 1.

f Vide Appianum Alex. in Mithridatico circa p. 122. 133. &c.
g Plut. in vita p. 335.

a Cedrenus Baptist. *c* Egnatius Ram. Prin. l. 1.

b In Oracione ad Constantinum.
c Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 166.

d Hist. Rom.
1.7.p.167.
e Nic. Greg.
lib.citat.

f Chalcocon.
καλπίκουρος
ὁ τοῦ Νάξου.

* In the time of
Pietro Zani
came Ambassa-
dors from A-
thens to do ho-
mage to the Ve-
netian Senate.
M. Lepkenor
in the history
and lives of the
Venetian
Princes.
g Chalcocon.
1.9.p.299.

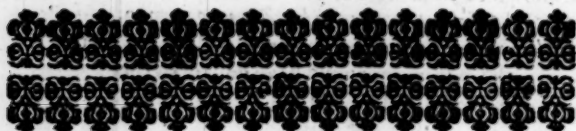
terwards they called the *d Duke of Athens*, in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them wives, Citizens of this place, and the daughters of their *Dukes* have been desired by that eminent rank. And indeed no marvel. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus*, is said to have taken the City from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, ἄραγον ἢ ἢ τὰ τὴν οἰκίαν; who having no issue male of his wife *Euboea*, but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Bæotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his Son recovered it again. *Nerius* succeeded him in the *Dukedom*, who thrust out *Chalcocondylas* his Father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second, got *Athens*, g whose beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius*, from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an Infant, his Mother in the child's Title exercised Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the City *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas Primus*) who came thither for Merchandize. Him, by discourse and flattery, she entised into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the *Princedom* of *Athens* to him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition, and thirsty of honour. Which being done, he returns to *Athens*, Marries this woman, enjoys the government of the City, who being hated of the *Athemans*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himself the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the *Dukedom*. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, im-
prisoned

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means
not known to the *Author*) slew her. This *Francus* in time ^{a Chalcocon.}
was taken away from men by *Zagan* governour of *Pe-* pag. 300.
loponnesus, *Mahomet* having intelligence that
the *Athenians* would have delivered the
City to the Prince of *Beotia*. He
was the last Duke.

E 2

LIB:





LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I.

Duodecim Dii Atheniensium, Idolatria septisariam commissa, Dii Adscriptiis. Οἷς ἀγῶας.

a Pag. 48.

b In Tractatu
 ὡς ἡ ἑρμῆς
 ἡγεῖται.
 p. 669.

c Sch. Eurip. in
 Alceſt. p. 661.

d Εὐαγγ. 158.
 in Stel. 1.
e Pag. 260.

H *Erasmus* in a *Terpsichore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their Religion from the *Egyptians*. But *b* *Plutarch* doth stoutly deny it. And not without good testimony may I affirm that it seems to be a falſitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the Mysteries of Piety into Greece; who was himself a *Thracian*, from whom the word *ὀρφεῖα* is supposed to be drawn, which signifies devotion. *c* Τὸ ἐν τῷ ἡμῶν δὲ ἐκείνου ὀρφεῖα, ὡς δευτέρου ἔκτ' ὀρφεῖα, *saies d* *Nonnus*. They called *ὀρφεῖα*, to worship God, &c. Appositely to which *e* *Aristophanes* ἐν Βατράχοις.

f Pag. 281.

Οἷς ἀγῶας ὡς τὰ παλαιὰ δ' ὡμῶν κατὰ δαίμονας, εὐδὼν τ' ἀνίστασθαι,
Orpheus showed us Sacrifices, and to abstain from slaughter:
 Neither is *f* *Euripides* disagreeing in *Rheso*.

Μυστηρίων τε καὶ ἀπορρήτων θανάτων

E λέγειν *Orpheus* — *Orpheus* revealed the hidden mysteries. *Herodotus* names not the Gods, the worship of whom the Greeks might borrow from the *Egyptians*; Twelve in number

number they were, quoth he, but these only are reckoned.
Jupiter. Bacchus. Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Isis or Ceres. Sais or Minerva. Latona. as I have gathered; which all at once have been made known to the *Greeks*, and that by the *Egyptians* is too hard a task for mee to prove. The *Athenians* I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall honour, whose pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called *g Βωύος ἢ δῶδρα* ^{g Paul. Attic. p. 3. l. 8.} *ἑστῶν*, on which a little before the *Sicilian War*, a man dis- ^{b Plut. in Nicia. p. 387. l. 16.} membred himself with a stone; which was accounted prodigious. By these twelve would they swear in common discourse. *h Ματὸς δῶδρα Sais.* The Heathens thinking that they did honour those Gods by whom they swear; and I have elsewhere spoken. But they were not confined to so small a number as twelve. For how could it be when they ran through the seven sorts of Idolatry? First worshipping the Sun, and punishing with death the neglect thereof, as you may read in *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, Deifying the effect of God, as bread, &c. For *Clement Alexandrinus* interprets *δὴλ. Ceres*; *ἢ σῖτος* corn or food. Thirdly, the poetical Gods; *Furies* and revengers of wickedness, as *Alastores, Palamni*. Fourthly, the Passions, as *Love, Pittie, Injurie*, like wife and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fifthly, the accidents of growth and nourishment, hence *Axo*, and *Thallo*, two deities, *αὐξάνων*, to increase, and *διδάων* to flourish; to which may be put *Cloridæ, Lachesis*, and *Letropos* the three fatal sisters, and *Eucarpia*, *Necessitie*, taken sometimes for death it self. Sixthly, the Theogony or pedigree of their gods, able to make up the sum of which *Homer* speaks, *Τεὶς γὰρ μυρίαί, &c.* Three thousand. Seventhly, an ignorance of the Providence and bounty of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evil, and *Esculapins* the god of Physick. And if this serve not, I can add an eighth way, namely hospitality and good entertainment of strange gods. *Ἀθιωνάιοι δ' ὡς ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἄλλα φιλοξενούσιν διατλάουσιν, ὅτι*

^g Paul. Attic.

^{p. 3. l. 8.}

^b Plut. in Nicia.

^{p. 387. l. 16.}

ⁱ Aristoph. Eq.

^{p. 300 A.}

^k Vide Bodin-

^{um in Demo-}

^{nologia.}

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεὺς, Νέμιος Ἰχθυήτης, Πάριος, Βυλαῖος, ῥεῖρος, φίλος, Οὐρανός, Καταβάτης, Ερεός, Ἀζωραῖος, ἔξιος. *Modii salis edendi, Tesseræ hospitalis seu Symbolum, Apollo* ὑποτρύπων, ταρῆς, Ἀλεξίμενος, Δωραῖος. *Pæan, & ejusdem verbi origo. Mæcæniæ, Πάριος, Πάριος, Στρωαῖος, Περύλιος.*

Above other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their Kingdoms, they were charged to make choice of *Jupiter*, *a* *Sch. Aristoph.* *Βασιλεὺς.* And so by *b* *Aristophanes* he is called *Zōs* Βασιλεὺς. *p. 122.* Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter c Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* *p. 121.* named Νέμιος) Him as *God of supplicants*, hence *d* ἰχθυήτης, *d* *Ulpian. in Dem. p. 273.* him as *Protector of Cities*, hence Πάριος. Him as *Governour and Director of their Councils*, hence Βυλαῖος. Him as *chief of their Societies*, hence ῥεῖρος, and of their friendship too, hence φίλος; and of kindred likewise, hence ὕμνος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence *e* Ζῶς Καταβάτης, as much as coming down in Thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, anthy flying to hence *f* Εὐδοκείος. Him they confessed the greatest of all, hence γούπατος. Him the overseer of their buying and selling, hence Ἀζωραῖος. To him stood an Altar sacred in the courts of their houses, hence *Jupiter Hircæus*, from *Εἶκος* a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the house. *Phaustinus. Equiv Paulan.* Διὸς Θόμος ἔξιος πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν, αἰδέομαι ἡ δούκα, ἐκ τῶν δούκων *Aristoph.* Διὸς ἱερὸν τὸ ἔρκεος. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which *h* *Ovid, -- Ante ades stabat Jovis Hospitis ara,* *h* *Metamorph.* hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the God of strangers and hospitaliry. So solemn were they in their entertainments, that

i Eustath. in
II. 3.

k Pag. 27. But
Eustath. says,
that they did set
salt before any
other meat to
strangers.

l Demosth. p.
241.

m Tzetzes in
Lycoph. p. 28.

n Cic. de Ani-
cicia. Eustath.

o says, that it
betokens love

permanent For
salt preserves,

And as it is
made of many

lettings in of
water, so they

who came from
divers places by

hospitality are
made one. In

ala p. 100.

o In Achira.
pag. 414.

p Eustath. in
II. 2.

q Eurip. Sch.
pag. 446.

a As παῖδες
Aristophan.

ὄμβρος.
Pausan. &c.

b Aristoph. πα.
p. 86.

that they would not receive a stranger without great ceremonies, such as giving of the right hand each to other i παῖδες
k Pag. 27. But σιὸς δηλοποιεῖ, a most certain sign of fidelity and security; as
Eustath. says, also washing and cleansing with salt, or salt water, as k Tzetz-
es on Lycophron; whence it is called ὀψιὸς πᾶσι. Salt they
highly esteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hospitality with
l οὐδ' αὖτε, &c. where is the salt? And yet it may be thought
to be said of the community of the table m ἰσθὺς ἢ δηλοποιεῖ
μὴ ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐκ κοίτης, customs shewing that
fellow commoners, and such as feed on the same table, must
not injure one another, to which the old saying may well
agree, n multos modis salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitia munus
expletum sit. Men must eat many bushels of salt together, be-
fore they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendship is
not to be soon established. But I take salt, for the lustration,
to which also they added fire, as you may see in o Aristophan-
es. Neither was this all, for they sacrificed moreover, calling
Jupiter to witness and using these words in the time of sacri-
fice. p Εἰς δ' αὖ ἐνίοισι ἀνδράσι, εἰ πορὶ ἐξόντι. Let my trespass be
against Jupiter Xenius, if I offend, condemn, or neglect stran-
gers. And for the continuation of this, even to their posterity
they were wont to cut a buckle bone in two, the one party
keeping one piece, the other party the other half, that when
occasion or necessity should make either of them stand in
need of other, q ἐπαρῶσι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀντιπάλους, ἀναμῖντο τῷ
ἐνίοισι, bringing with them their half buckle bone they might re-
new their hospitality. This they call σύμβολον, Symbolum, a to-
ken, which sometimes they would send to their acquain-
tance in others behalf, as Jason in Euripides offers to Medea
to do Πέμψον τ' ἐνίοις σύμβολ' οἱ δ' ἐρῶσι σ' εὖ. And to send a
Symbolum or token to strangers that shall courteously enter-
tain you. But of this enough, as also of Jupiter, whom cele-
brated in a other Epithetes I know by the Athenians. Apollo
was next in request to Jupiter, invoked in danger or sudden
events, hence b Ἀποτρίπτου, from ἀποτρίπτειν, to turn away, as if
he

he should deliver them from eminent evil, for which reason he is called *Alexicacus*, c *Apollinem aspellentem mala intelligas*, quem Athenienses *Ἀλεξικακὸν* appellant. He was one of the first Gods they had, hence he is termed *ἄναρχος*, but others think because he was the father of *Ion*. f *Macrobius* is of opinion, because the *Sun*, the same with *Apollo*, is the Author of progenerating all things, quod sol humoribus exiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit causam. To him stood Altars in their streets, hence is he *ἀρχαῖος*, as if he were set over their ways, g *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomaria sunt ἀρχαῖαι*. This *Agyeum* was a sharp pillar. *ἄγχιον ἔστι τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον*. Although the Greeks, as i *Macrobius* says, did worship him as *Θεγαῖον*, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the doors of their houses, yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pausanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Peon*, of which, though I have taken occasion to speak elsewhere, yet this is a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial derivations of the Greeks, which you read in k *Athenæus*. When the Athenians asked help of the Oracle at *Delphos* against the *Amazons*, in the days of *Theseus*. The God bid them implore his succor in these words, *ἰὲ παῖδρ*. l *Hanc vocem, id est, ἰὲ παῖδρ, confirmasse fertur Oraculum Delphicum Atheniensibus, presentibus opem Dei adversus Amazonas, Theseo regnante. Namque inituros bellum iussit his ipsis verbis semetipsum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique*. I doubt not but the words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the ancient *ἴα Pean*. *Pean*, says the m *Scholias* of *Aristophanes* is a song or hymn praying for the ceasing of a Plague, or war, nay, for the preventing of apparent hurt. The original of *ἴα m Scaliger* hath already found, *ἴαο & ἴο* being contracted by the Greeks for *Jehova*; *Pean*, then comes from *ἵδω* to look, so that *ἴο Pean* is in force *Jehovah Penoh*. LORD LOOK UPON U S, it being a craft of the Devil to come as near as possible he may to God, so to bereave him of his dear honour, if he could. The remnants of these words the o *Symerons*

c *Macrobi.*
Sat. 1. p. 253.
d *Aristoph.*
Nub p. 203.
e *Arist. Sch.*
p. 611. g.
f *Satur. 1. p.*
257.
g *Macrobi.*
Sat. 1. c. 9.
h *Schol. Eur.*
Al-
rip. Phæ. p.
322.
i *Sat. 1. c. 9.*

k *In fin. lib.*
14. *Dip.*

l *Macrobi.*
Sat. 1. c. 17.
p. 253.

m *In Plur.*
pag. 68.

n *Græc. Trag.*

o *Vide Sir*
Fr. *Drake.*

p Aristoph. πλ.
p. 110. Arch.
pag. 410.

q Aristoph.
βατρ. p. 166.
a Aristoph.
p. 304.
b Pauf. p. 20.
l. 35.

c Pag. 100.

a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance and leap, and sing *Yó Pebor*: at this day *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of *ρ παλινυδαπλος* or *q Εμπλαϊος*, deemed to be the God, whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradersmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow Rich, wherefore this God is termed *q Εβρίνι*®, very profitable, from *έει*, an augmenting word, and *ένω* to profit. He had a Statue erected to him in the Market place, called *a Εμψης Αρκεύς*. The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named *b Πρεσύλας*®, as likewise *Στερεώδης* from *στέρειν*, to turn, because he was set up behind the door to keep away thieves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may read in *c Aristoph. Schol.*

C A P. III.

*De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte,
Hercule. &c.*

d Pauf. p. 16.
l. 32.

e Aristoph. πλ.
pag. 61.
f p. 536. n. 16

g παρ. πρὸς
Απρ.

b Aristoph.
pag. 403.
i Pauf. p. 7.
l. 27.
k De divina-
tione. l. 1.

*S*aturn was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witness the *Steals* kept in honour to him, called *κρόνια*, witness a *Temple* d which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirm any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of *e Κρονική γνώμη*, *Saturnia anima*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a *Temple*, of which *f Demosthenes*: where was one of the *Athenian* prisons, some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of *g Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this City, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in Navigation, hence *b Αρσάλης*®, *i Mars* also had his Worship, and *Temple*, and *Hercules* too, who in a *Dream* appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the *Sacrilege* of one who had stolen a golden Cup out of his *Temple*: called therefore *μυρτὺς* or *Index Hercules*, as *k Tully*. Neither

Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonizing more daily, as the Sons of *Tyndarus*, *Caster* and *Pollux*, naming them *ἄνακτες*. *Ἰάνακός δ' ἔκειτο παρ' ἐπιμελητέαις ἢ βουλάφοιται ὄντιν, ὃ τὰς βασιλείας ἵπας ἀνακτὸς διὰ τὸ καλῶναι.* For they who have a care and watch of any thing do diligently observe it, *ἄνακός τε*. For which Kings perhaps are called *ἄνακτες*, as keepers of their people. *m* The Scholiast of *Euripides* teaches us that *ἀναξ* properly signifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be *Ἀναξ Κυλλήνης*, the Tutelar God of *Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in *u* *Homer* *χεῖρας τοῦ ἀνῆκεν*. The word is simply put for God in *o* *Aristophanes*, *p* τὰς ἐν θεῶν Ἀνακτας ἢ Σωτῆρας καλεῖσθαι. To these may be put *Harmonius* and *Aristopiton*. *Lycus*, *Theseus*. *Alon*. *Hesychius*. *Aristomachus* the Physician. *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom see *q* *Meursius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrasius* that made the Statue of *r* *Theseus*.

Plut. Thef.
p 11. l. 25.

m In Hippol.
p. 507.

n Iliad. α.

o In Avib.

p 578.

p Eurip. Sch. *p*. 537.

q In Athen.

Att. 3. c. 1.

& 7.

r Plut. in Th.

p. 21. l. 4.

C A P. IV.

De Minerva, Cere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone, Promethæo, &c.

M*inerva* the especial Deity of the Athenians, had the *In* *Panath.* Festivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully *a* *In* *Panath.* read in *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose *b* *Nonnus* *ad* rites *longè maximis & occultissimis ceremoniis continentur*, *c* *Vid. Plut. in* *a* *saies Cicero*, were greatest and most hidden: therefore called *mysteria* from *ἔκρυπτον*, to hide, *c* death and a curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *d* *Cap. 7.* *Meursius* in his *d* *Eleucinia*, of the initiation in these stews. *e* *Kristoph.* They were of two sorts. *e* Greater to *Ceres*, less to *Proserpina*. *Sch. p. 85.* *Bacchus* also the son of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted *f* *Arist. p. 222.* and a double tide holy to him: *Dionysia parva*, and *g* *magna*. *g* *Id. p. 123.* *Venus* had her honour and sacrifice in which they offered to *b* *Clem. Alex.* her *h* money the price of an whore. *i* *Eumenides* were first ad- *p*. 19. dored *i* *Vide Æsch. in* *Eumen. & Sch.* *Soph. Oed. Col.*

dored by *Orestes* after he escaped the Judgment at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemnestra*. These by *Hesiod* are called *Erinyes*, by the Athenians *Σεμεναι*, the venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings, without wine though at midnight, a custom peculiar to them alone, as *Æschylus* witnesseth, though I am not ignorant that *Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nyctellius*. But the Tragedian,

Ο ὅς ποτιζόμενα δειπναῖα ἐπ' ἰσάρεα πνεύει
Εἴθεον ὅσον ἑταῖρος κοινῶν θιάσῳ.

† In Theogonia.

† Paus. p. 27. lib. 3.

‡ In Eumen. pag. 275.

‡ Aristoph. p. 118.

¶ Loco citate.

p In Oedipo. Col. p. 271.

q Æschylus loco præd.

Vide Interp. Hor. in illud.

Diva triformis.

f Aristoph. Sch. p. 63.

i Pag. 64.

‡ In Orat. πρὸς κόριν.

¶ In Nube. p. 176.

x In Plut. 63.

Schol. i. e. ὅτι πρὸς ἀποσκευῇ μάλιστα Εὐνοῦσιν ἀπαρχήται. By *p Sophocles* the manner of oblation is set down. First having clean hands and pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of a running fountain, water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed *γινώμια μελίγματα*) the mouthes and ears of which are to be covered with the wool of a young sheep, turning himself towards the East, he powred out some of two of them, but the third wholly; then with both hands setting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his prayers, he uttered out his conceived supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken. *Hecate* was worshipped by them in *triviis*, where three wayes met, supposed to be the Moon in Heaven, *Diana* on the earth, and *Hecate* below. To her the richer sort every new Moon made a feast in the cross waies setting bread and other provision, which the poor greedily fed on, and were so ravenous after, that *Penia* in *Aristophanes*, complains that they snatcht it, before it could be laid down. Reference to this hath *Εκαταῖα καηδιεν*, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in *Demosthenes*, which he seems to object as a fordid or wicked thing. Indeed *καυολόχῳ*, which signifieth one that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the Altar, imports some times *impious*, *καυολόχῳ*, ἀσεβῆς. Schol. x Aristoph. And yet the same Scholiast tels us that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. x καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ οἱ πτωχοὶ ζῶσι. *Juno's* rites were

were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders and down the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces fo minced, that a *Hegior Cadizur Junonim incedere*, is to go ^{aVide Schotum in Prov. Marc. Casaub. in Athen. l. 12. c. 5. p. 388.} stately. *Promethæus* was worshipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with links or lamps, it may be in memorial of the fire, which superstitiously they believed him to have stole out of heaven. To say more of their Gods were need- less either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of later making, introduced by the *b Philippides*, and * *Σπραγιδης Νύμφαι*. *Spragitides Nympha* after the *Perſian* overthrow. ^{b Cl. Alex. pag. 22. * Plut. Arist. p. 240. l. 30.}

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀνδράσι Εἰμαὶ. *Phacasiæ Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected statues which they called *c Σιδεράματα*, because they were exposed ^{c Vide Hesychium, & Dionysium Petavi- um in Themistum.} to the Sun. Neither had they these alone, but certain others sacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes*, *Hermæ Mercuriales*. The fashion of them were divers. For first they were not *ἀνὰ τὴν ὀπίσθεν*, *per retro veritro* but made after to that form by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelasgi*, as *d Herodotus*. Neither did they want leggs, till the *Athenians* made them *ἀνδράσι*, according to *e Pausanias*. The manner was ^{d In Euterpe p. 48. e In Atticis. p. 22. l. 14. f Sat. v. 853.} this, *A face of Mercury* set upon a pillar of four Corners. The head only and neck were shapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, *f Juvenal*,

Nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque similis Hermes,

Nulla quippe alio vinctis discrimine, quam quod

Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivis imago.

For which reason likewise the *Greeks* name them *g ἀγούαι*, without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certain verses engraven concerning the praises of some well deserving ^{g Vide Ulpian. in Dem. p. 332. & G. Langbain in Notis ad Longinum. p. 21. o. 45.}

men; but the *Herma* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had meritted, seem to mee to have been set up in that Gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly known by *Ερμῆς Στά* the Gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, and sacrificed a kind of Gruel, which was of no great preparation; because they would not stand long about it. Hence *ἑρμῆς ἰδρυέσθαι* may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little. h *Aristophanes*. *Χύρυσσιν, ὡς περ ὑπερώου ἢ Ἐρμῆδ' ὄν.* *Schol. Ερμῆδ' ὄν, ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπάλει.* in *Pace*. Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unreasonable to add something of the form of their Gods; whom they made standing with their hands upward, as if they were more willing to receive than bestow any thing. To which a *Aristophanes* alludes, saying — *ὅς τ' ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἔ' ἔσ' ἄγ' ἀμύταται, ὅτι οὐδ' ἐν χερσὶν αἰνέειν τὰ χαδ' ἔ' ἔσ' ἐκτίνορτα τῷ χερ' ὡς πῖα.* *Ὅς ὡς τὶ δόσιντ' ὅλ' ὅπως τὶ λήψεται.* *Even the Gods you shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some good thing, they stand with their hands upward, as if they would not send down something, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewise, that these Idols were cloathed, is no news doubtless to one meanly versed in the Greek antiquities. To say that they wear Shoes too is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phacasiæ*, from *φακῆλαι*, a kind of low shoes which the Athenians called *καλπίδες*, from *καλπίς* dust, and *ἄς* the foot, because they were near the ground *δὲ τὸ μάζεν υἱὸς θεῶν τῇ πότι τὸ πῖδ*, saies b *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. c *Juvenal*.

*Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polyclesti
Phacasiæ videri vetera ornamenta Deorum.*

b Pag. 693.

a Concion.
P. 747.

b Præd. l. 2.
c. 11. p. 152.
c Sat. 3. v. 217.

C A P. VI.

De Superstitione Atheniensium, & vaticiniis.

Long since were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apostle for ^{d Donat. in} superstition, which though it properly signifies ^{Ter. p. 67.} a wor-
shipping of the Gods too much, yet under it these follies are
^{e Ranis pag.} comprehended, Purification after fearful dreams, in ^{a74. vide &} *Aristo-*
^{Æsch. in} *phanes* ^{Persis,} *ὄνειρον ἀποκαλύψεν*. In which sence some understand
Persius: *Noctem flumine purgare*. Wearing of Rings against
Witchcraft as a Spell, called *σπαρκίαις περιαιίται*. ^{g Spitting} *g* Spitting
into their bosoms thrice at the sight of a mad man, or one
^{Pl. p. 88. f.} troubled with an *Epilepsie*. Of which also *Theocritus*, ^{g Theoph.} *τῆς αἰς*
^{Ch. pag. 49.} *ἐμὸν ἔπλυσεν κίλινον*. I know not whether the custome of our
silly people have reference to this foppery, who use to spit at
the naming of the Devil. Certain it is, that anciently they
did spit in defiance, hence *πύον* is put for *καταρροῖν* and ^{b Antigonem,}
ἔδωκε λογιζόμενος to continue or set little by, as the *Scholias*
of *Sophocles* on these words, *πύοντες ὅσους δὲ καὶ δύνανται*. Washing
with water the head as often as he shall go into the streets
καὶ καταλὼς λούμενος, ^{i Theophrastus.} *i* *Theophrastus*. Anointing of stones, di-
^{i Charact.} vers it seems from those heaps sacred to *Mercury*, termed
εἰμακταί. This hath been of old done indeed as a token of
thankfulness by *k Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the stone
that he put for his pillows, and set it up, and powred oyle
on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. ^{k Gen. 28, 18.} *Hennes* crow-
ing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houses, Ser-
pents seen *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ*, sayes *Theophrastus*, of which a *Terence*.
Introit in ades aſter alienus canis. *Anguis per impluvium deci-*
dit de tegulis. *Gallina cecinit*. Put to these a *b* Cat or Weasel
^{a In Phor.} (the word signifieth both) crossing his way, the mouse eating ^{Ac. 4. Sc. 4.} *b* *γὰρ*
his salt bag. Not unlike them now adaye, whose cloaths the ^{Theoph.}
Rats or Mice shall chance to eat, deemed not long after like
to live by our ignorant, or that he shall have great ill betide
him

him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for fear of polluting; Antiquity was of opinion that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath observed, and

c In Hip. p. 603.
vide etiam Eu-
stath. in Ia. π.
d ἐν ἐργασίᾳ
ἡμ.

e Plut. Pericle
pag 123. l. 35.
f Plin. Nicia.
p. 392. l. 21.

c *Euripides* brings in *Diana* speaking that it is not lawful for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay, the standing upon a grave was great religion; ἐπιβῆναι μνήματι. Furthermore observing of days good and bad, of which d *Hesiod*, ἀλλη μνημεῖα, ἀλλη ἡμέτερ, that one is a stepdame, another a mother. e Amazement at the Eclipse of the Sun, as also the f Moon; not knowing the reason, why she did loose her light at that time, when she was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicine or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Aristophanes*. ὠκυτάκη ὠσώϊσθι. Of the vertue I speak nought.

g Lib. 4. c. 11.

g *Boemus* relates, that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an herb when they are great with Child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Joyn to this the sneezing over the right shoulder or the right side, ἡ Πηνελόπειν δελζῶν. Observation of Διοσημίας, or sudden storms, as the i *Schol.* of *Aristophanes* interprets it, snow, hail, or the like. k Cutting off their hair, and sacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephalus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the Proverb, λ γλαυῶς ἵπταται, The Owle hath fled, And γλαυῶς ἵπταται for good luck. The Owle being a token of victory to the Athenians. μη πῆσαι πῆς γλαυκῆς οὐκ ἐστὶν σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνέμειστο. They ever accounting it so, since the War at *Salamis*, where the Greeks seeing an Owle, took courage and beat the Barbarians. Appendix Vaticana ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ ταύτης θαλάσσης διαρρήσαντες Ἕλληες ἐνέκισαν. Other madness of theirs was sleeping in the n Temple of *Esculapius*, who were ill at ease, supposing the deity to give, or shew them a remedy, o for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock, if I mistake not. What shall I say of p putting him to death who should cut down an Oake or an Holme (so *Ilex* which in Greek is *πενίδιον* may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heronm*; And punishing *Atarbes* capitally who being distracted

h Plut. Them.
p. 85. l. 23.
i In Ach. p.
379. & p. 424.
k Paus. Att.
p. 35. l. 31.
vide Eust. in
Il. B.
l Arist. Vespil.
p. 508.
m Zenobius.

n Aristoph. p.
44. 66. T. 438.
o Petronius.
p *Ælian*. *τοικ*.
l. 5. c. 17.

sted had slain a sparrow sacred to *Æsculapius*? Thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecies: *Æschylus* brings *Promethæus* on the stage, vaunting how first he taught men * Ονειρεστικόν. Οἰωνοτικόν. Ηπα- * Vide Sch. τιλόν. Ουτιλόν. All which were practised among the Athenians, p 32 as you may read in *Xenophon*. Ονειρεστικόν, the interpretation a Αμύμ. α. of dreams, is a resolution of those doubts which we conceive initio. of things offered to our fancy in sleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that she should bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atossa* before the fall of her sonne *Xerxes*, whom she saw striving to yoke the Barbarian and Greek Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed οὐτιλόν. *Æschylus*, ascribing much to the truth of them, supposing them to be sent from a Deity — οὐδ' ἄρ' ὄρατ' ἐκ Διὸς ὄντι. b Homer. The skill in them is ἐξ ονειρεστικῶν α καὶ παρρησιαίων, b Iliad. 1. κληδόνες τε δολέϊστας γυναιζέτω to tell truly the event. Which c Æschy. Pro. was no small art: certain Books are written of that Subject. pag 33. d οὐδ' ἴσιν ἐγγεστοί τινες τίχεται ονειρεστικῶν, as *Artemidorus* his d Eust. in II. 2. *Onirocritica*. Οἰωνοτικόν, *Southsaying by Birds*, when such or pag. 36. such flie either before or behind him, at the right or left e Pag. 33. hand, to shew what it doth prognosticate. c Æschylus. γαμύων. φύχων τε πῆχον οἰωνῶν σακρῶς δαείτ' οἵτινες δόξωι εὐρίν, Εὐωνοῖ τε, οὐδ' ἴσιν ἐγγεστοί τινες τίχεται ονειρεστικῶν, f Aristides T. 3; which the mind doth suggest to the opinion. It is put for a. pag. 25. ny divination in Greek Writers, but most properly ονειροσκοπητικόν, which g *Telegonus* is related to have found according g Nonnus to *Nonnus*; but according to b *Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called b Nat. hist. 1. 7. *Caria*. Ηπατιλόν, looking into the liver or entrals, like the Latines *extispicium*, observing the colour of them, λισθὲ τε c 56. μακίλλω οὐνοσφάω; as likewise the soundness, hence taken as a prodegie λισθὲ τε ἔχων κακὸν, in k *Plutarch*, the extremity citato. of the liver (like the outmost parts of the Vine leafe, saies *Isidore*) not to be seen, or rather that which they call the head, k Pag 357. l. 31.

- Ovid, Casumque caput reperitur in exis.* Θυμὸν, in making the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, *ἰερογὰρ νύματα*, the Tragedian calls them, by which they could foretel events. More doubtless had they waies of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. *Εἰδέν*, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you, *Æschylus* terms them *εἰδέν* συμβόλαι, *Scb.* τὰ εἰδέν συμπτώσις. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum* on these words, *Puer è trivius*. The Scholiast of *a Aristophanes* on *ξυμβολὸν ὄρνιν*, they made, quoth he, whom they met first, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation which *b Sophocles* calls *εὐρήμην δόμα θρονῆδ' ἔχ'*, wishing luck as *χαῖας* among the Greeks, and the Latines, *c Effo bonis avibus visus*, &c. *ξυμβολόν* is put likewise for sneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but sacred to *d Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that *Ζήτειαι*, which we intimate in our *Cod help you*, as often as we see any man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Disease, is sufficiently evinced by *Casaubon* on *Athenæus*. *Οἰοσκοπιτικὴν*, at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the House, or when the oyl Cruse is dry, Honey, Wine, Water is spent, to guess at future things. Of this *Xenocrates* wrote. *Χειροσκοπιτικόν*, Palmistry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeness in house-keeping, of Marriage and Posterity, of which *f Helennus* once left a Monument. *Παλμυστικόν*, gathered out of the shaking of the parts of the body, as the shoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind *Possidonius* was an Author exposed to the world. *Εγαστεμυσία* as that wherein the Witch of *Ender* was experienced, out of the lowest parts of whose belly the Devil spake. The first that practised this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are possessed with this Spirit of Prophecying, are called *Ευκλῆται*, *Euryclita*, as the *g Schol.* of *Aristoph.* who calls this Art *εὐμυλῆς μαντεία*, the Divining of *Eurycles*. *Νεκρωμαντεία*, where after solemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the souls

l. Æsch. loco citato.

a In *Av. p.* 574.

b In *Oed. Tyr.* initio.

c *Ovid.* *Fast.*

d *Sch.* *Arist.* loco citato.

e *Nonnus* in *Naz.*

f *Nonnus.*

g In *Vesp.* pag. 503.

b *lb. p.* 502.

souls of the deceased, demanding of them what afterward should befall. As i *Wierus*, and no wonder, for they held the Spirits of their Parents and Kindred for Gods, *quibus sacrificabant* (saies Bodin) & ad quorum sepulchra comedebant, in quos Scriptura inveiens ac detestans, inquit, & comederunt sacrificia mortuorum, to which they sacrificed, and at whose sepulchers they fed, against whom the Scripture inveighing & detesting, speaketh, *And they eat the oblations of the dead*. Of this I *Aristophanes* makes mention, and m *Homer* in his *Odyssees*. This is that which most properly is called *πντοία* from *πν* lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *dira exccrations*, a for with great mourning they invoked *ἐκκομίς δαιμόνας*, wicked Gods for the accomplishment of their divelish designs. It may most fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia*, b for so the Wizards divide them into the black & white Magick *Μαγία*, from whence the word Magick is derived, seems to have been found by the *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Priests were called *Magi*, great Philosophers, as d *Laertius* is witness. This is supposed to be the good Magick. e *Εὐκλῆσις ἐστὶ δαιμόνιον ἀγαθοποιῶν, πρὸς ἀγαθὴν οὐσίαν φαρμακία*, is a giving of a *Phylitrum*, a Medicine for the procurement of Love or rather enraging of Lust, by bewitching something and giving it to be eaten, which to have power over Swine is credibly reported. *Κοισινοματεία*, Tricks with a pair of Shears and Sive, of which *Theocritus*. f *Ἀεινοματεία*, To take counsel of an Hatcher, taking and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-waies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty use of a key & Bible. *Ἀστρομαματεία*, by casting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farmes &c. which answer to the quantity of the chance. *Ἀλεινοματεία* & *Ἀλευροματεία*, done by Corn, h *Ἀεθροματεία*, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, & by value of them to judge the conquest, As they said of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles*. *Ὀρθοματεία* making a circle, they divided it into four and twenty parts,

i De Magis Infl. 2. c. 11. k Demonomaniz. l. 2. c. 3.

l In Avib. p. 613. a. m Lib. 2. a Nonn. in Noz. b Vid. Bodin.

c Vide Non. d In Proem. e Nonnus.

f Vid. Odyf.

g Vide Theocrit. in Phœr. h Delrio Disqui. Mag. l. 4. c. 9. s. sec. 7.

and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c. *Στοιχειματεία*, opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Thesfaly*. *Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* and because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publick causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphice*, for foretelling or divination. *a* I know the she Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word *μανικὸν* at this time read for Southsaying, was anciently called *μανικὸν* madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of Lottery, is as cleer as day, the *c Scholiast* of *Euripides* testifying; done it seems in matters of question, so *καὶ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ* may intimate as much as to, undergo trial. Prædictions there were, *d* saith *Enstath.* out of signes and wonders, as also, of the noise that leaves make when they are burned. To which some adde *ἀσσοματεία* or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

i Wier. de
Magis Inf.
l. 2. c. 23.

a Vide Sch.
Arist. in Plur.
b Aristid. T. 3
pag. 25.

c In Hippol.
pag. 580.
d In II. 2.
pag. 36.

G. A. P. VII.

De Templis Asyliis.

THeir Churches were of two sorts, sacred to their Gods in Greek, *νῆες*, or *ἱεῖς*. And sacred to their Demi gods most properly *νῆαι*. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragœdians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first.

first Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceased. *επεὶ καὶ ἐν ἱερῶν ὁδοῖς ἐκείνων τῶν ἡρώων ἡ συνήθεια. τὸ δὲ ἅγιον καὶ ἱερὸν ἐκείνων ἐστὶν.* Cecrops buried in the Acropolis, Erichonim in the Temple of Minerva, Polias, the daughters of Celenus in Eleusis, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called *ἡ ἁγία* the other *ἡ κοινή*. f Casaubon tells us that *ἡ ἁγία* was that holy water set at the door of the Temple, with which every one that entered into the Temple besprinkled himself, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawful for any but the Priests to come. The g Sch. of Sophocles thus describes the Church. *Ναὸς, ὅπου ἡ θεὸς ἐστὶν, ὅπου ἡ θύρα ἐστὶν, ὅπου ἡ ἀλτήρ ἐστὶν, ὅπου ἡ ἱερὰ ἐστὶν.* where the Altar stands. *Βασιλὴς*, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, *ἡ ἱερὰ*, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped, in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, *ἀνὰ τὴν ἱερὰν* *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls it, as that of *Iuno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracie of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named, *ἡ ἁγία*, *ἡ τὸ ἀποτρίψαι τὸ ὄνομα*, from the shaving of it; but when art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it *ἡ ἁγία*, from *ἡ ἁγία* *mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies: That a woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of soddin pulse, as beans, pease and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness For their first food *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἐποικίας*. For as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the *ἱερὰ* or *ναὸς*, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. *ἡ ἁγία* *ἡ ἁγία* *ἡ ἁγία*, *ἡ ἁγία*, *ἡ ἁγία*, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek *ἀρχαῖον* by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seems to have been Treasure both for the Church, and

Vid. p. 2.

In Theoph. Charact.

In Oed. Tyrannum.

a Protreptico pag. 23. b Idem.

Schol. Arist. p. 115.

d Lib. 1. c. 1. 7μ. γ.

e Laertius in
vita p. 122.
vide ad eum
locum Cas.

any soever who fearing the security of his wealth, would commit it to the custody of the Priest, as e *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephesus*. *Martial* points at this when he saies,

Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods, that to do those offices of Nature, I mean venting of Excrements too shamelessly seen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* Ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that Taxation, as that they made the *meizesua* of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one Stranger, whom he caused to be whipt, with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE E-DICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickedness, they were wont proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himself in the Py-theum*; or if there were more in the plural number, *Καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς Πυθίοις ἐκκαταίοναι*. Nay so honourable held they these Churches, that to them they granted privilege of *Sanctuary*, to which who would flee, might not from thence be drawn out under a Trespass upon Religion. Of this kind was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theseus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, a whose Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midst thereof she had a Grove. b The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclicide*.

a Vid Rosin.
b Polyd. Virg.
in Eurip. they
are persecuted
sitting near
the Altar.
T. 2, p. 472

C A P. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy Orders among them I conceive to have been divers sorts. Παράσιτος, *Parasiti*, a word had in later times in great derision, exagitated almost in every Comedy, put for a shark or smell-feast, *c Edax Parasitus*. But held once in good esteem. For when they had set apart such a parcel of land as they thought the revenues thereof would suffice for the Sacrifices of such and such Gods, they chose certain men who should receive or gather the Harvest. *Crates*, αἱ ἐν τῷ ἑκάστῳ ἑκάστῳ. With the incomes of this were the charges of those publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence *μαγάλα introitus magni*, great yearly Substance, is used for great Sacrifice in *c Aristophanes* Scholiast. ἔτι δὲ ἔλεγον τοὺς *Ceryces*, the same signifies a Crier, but in sacred Functions a Minister, who slew and offered the Victim. *f Anthemio* the Comcedian ascribes much honor to them, as if they had first taught men to seeth victu- als, the flesh of sheep & Oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from *g Ceryx* the son of *Mercury* and *Pandorus*. But *h Casaubon*, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρηττοῦ. *à prastantior parte muneris quod obibant, sic dicti: Idem namque & hostias mactabant, adolebantque, &c.* They in the time of Divine Rites, craved the silence of the people in these words, Εὐθμητέ. Σιγα πάρι, ἔστω λείω. Be whist all ye people. good words, for so *i εὐθμητέ* signifies, as well as to say nought, in which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he sayes, *Male ceminasti* *Parcite verbis*. When sacrifice was ended, they dismissed the Congregation with these words, λαὸν ἀεισσε. To which Custom he unfitly looked who derived the Mass from *Missæ est*, *ite*, better fercht in my mind by a *Welchelus* from *Masach* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praise. *Μεγαλυνεῖ*, the same

c Terent.

Secund. Att.
Dialect. apud.
Athen. p. 215.

c Avib. p. 581.

Apud Ath.
l. 14. p. 661.

*g Vide Salm. in
Inscripti. Pollu-
cem. l. 8.
h In Athen.
l. 15. c. 23.*

*i Casaub. in
Theophrast.
P. 321.*

*a In lib. quem
scripsit de So-*

b Meursius
Eleucin. c. 13.

c Srel. i. p. 63.

d L. Mountac.
of Chichester.

e In Alexaph.

P. 144.

f Aristoph. Sc.

P. 125.

g T. 2. p. 621.

h In Politic.

i In Plut. p. 71.

k Casaub. in
Theoph.

l Arist. p. 481.

m Arist. p. 101.

n In Plut. p. 71.

same with *h* *ισχυρτα*, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a yeare compleat, permitted to see their Bible) *c* *Schol. Naz.* *ισχυρτα παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἱερά ἐκβαίνειν.* Hierophanta so called from *ἐκβαίνειν τὰ ἱερά*, Opening the holy things. *El Qi* *ἑοῖ ἱερούφα*, d The Learned Bishop, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moses* among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to do in those sacred businesses. *Πυρρίφοι*, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whose office made them safe in war and danger. Hence of bloody fight we say *ἑὸς πυρρίφου*, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar, *ἱερούφοι*, The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, ten in number. *Νικαῖφοι* whom *e* *Nicander* calls *ἑκατόφοι* from *ἐκατόν* *τὸ ἱσχυρτα*, to be decent, because they keep the Temples clean, and swept them as *Ion* in *g* *Enripidis* speaks. These were the *ἱερούφα*, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies *h* *Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometimes look to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out should be restored again. *ἱερεῖς* in *i* *Aristophanes* likewise termed *ἑκατόφοι*. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, *k* whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, *l* the trotters and skins, as the *m* *Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomach did share. Well known to *n* *Aristoph.* who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be sound both wind and limb, they being asked *αἰ ἀνθρώποις* before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremony to have been used among holy Orders of later daies is well known, their neighbours

neighbours wives bearing record, sayes ^a *Christiannus*, that ^a In Aristoph. they have not taken into their societies *quid mutuum*. There were moreover the Priests as the βασιλῆα, in *Demosthenes*, and the *Karnegiei*: whom in all things ^b *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* ^b Antiq. l. 2. n. 3. compared to the vestal Nunnes.

C A P. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philosophy is of Opinion, that Sacrifices first began after the *Ancient* had ended their *harvest*. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from whence ἀπαρχαί is read generally to do any Sacrifice. Neither doth ἀποθνήσκει import less. For εὐθνήσκει signifies the bend; or great chest of the garner, wherein they laid up the harvest thresht and winnowed; ἀρχή, the first or beginning, as if when they began to treasure up their store, the first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offerings; who willed in his laws, that they should be ἐκρίστα ἱερέα, chosen and selected sacrifices. The rights performed in them were not different from those in the daies of *Homer*, but somewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to purifie themselves some certain dayes before, εὐπροσηγμένον ἡμερῶν ἀειδυόν, the number of them is not set down. I take ἀγνῶσθαι here to abstain from carnal delights (*Tibull Discede ab aris, Quos talis hesternæ gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpose *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go to sacrifice, answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared, they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket, in which was the knife hid (covered

^c Vide Schol. Eur. in Phœn. p. 221.

^d Plur. p. 65. l. 26. they called their lean sacrifices κάρτα & γυνεῖας, horns and hair, as if naught else. Arist. p. 584. ^e Demost. pag. 400. 476.

H

with

f In Pace.

p. 695.

g ll. α. with
these ἑλοῦται
the Greeks ever
began sacrifice,the Romans,
Far, Dionys.

Halic. l. 2. n. 4.

b Loco laud.

i Athen. l. 9.

p. 409.

a Sophocles

Oed. Tyr.

b Aristoph.

c Iliazd. α.

d Iliazd. α.

* Mæcia.

e In Stel.

f Eustath. p.

101. λλ.

g Loco laud.

with flower and salt in f *Aristophanes* ἑλᾶ, in g *Homer* ἑλοῦται, with which they cut the throat of the victims. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. b *Aristophanes*. Πτείδου & Σωμὸν τοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ δὲ. This lustration was made with meal, and holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is called i χέρι, in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar, with which they bedewed the standers by, accounting it a kind of cleansing. (Hence a χέριβαι νόμιον was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue) then they cast some of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cryed out b τίς τῶδε, Who is here? to which they made reply, πολλοὶ ἑσθ' αὖτοι, Many and good. Then they prayed. c *Homer*, Εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἑσθ' αὖτις πρὸς θεῶν. Χερσὶ λατὸν δ' ἔσθ' αὖτις, ὃ ἑσθ' αὖτις ἀνέστη. Among the later they spake with a lowd voice ἐν χαίῃ, before they began, Let us pray. Supplications ended, they drew the victim so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards, which d *Homer* αὐτὸς ἔσθ' αὖτις. Eust. ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἀνὰ ἑσθ' αὖτις, ἀνακλᾶν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν πρὸς θεῶν αὖτις ἀνέστη, αὖτις δ' ἑσθ' αὖτις. If it were to the Heroes or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him and skinned him, and cutting out the * huck shin bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κρέας (hence the gods of the heathen are deciphred by e *Nazianzen*, κρέας χαίροντες, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. f ὡς δ' (καὶ δὲ) ὁλοκαυτωθῆναι τοῦ κρέως λαμπερὸν καὶ κατακαλῆναι πᾶσι. For the Grecians counted it unluckie if it did not so consume, and thought that it was not καλίστη: upon the κρέας they cast small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek ὀμὸν) hence this is called ὀμωδότης. The reason *Eustathius* gives g αὖτις ἑσθ' αὖτις, ὅλα ἔσθ' αὖτις μέρη καὶ κρέας, that they might seem to consume all; which the Athenians did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason

reason of wch in junction, they did so strain courtesie of their Gods, that the illiberal & nigardly sort of People would sel that which was left, and so make gain of their devotion.

h τὸ μὲν ἱερόν τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερὸν τὸ πρὸς ἀνδράσιν οὕτως ἔφη *Theophrast.* *h* Th. Charac. *mei d'vnde.*
Where *i* Casaubon notes, *Coxam fere offerebant, aut intestina,* *aut aliud non magna rei persape.* They offered the hanch
Thicias.
i Pag. 336.

bone, or the entrails, or somewhat of no great worth, where by entrails you are to understand the spleen, the liver, & the heart, which *Homer* calls *σπλάγχνα*, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sence we say *ἀσπλαγχιος* *ἀνθρωπος*, a pusillanimous man, & *εὐσπλαγχιος* a couragious as the *a* Schol. of *Sophocles* teaches us, and so *σπλάγχνα* ἰσχύς the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, & afterwards cut out the rest to rost. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reins loose to all manner of voluptuousness, gluttony & drunkeness. For oft times they left nothing after their sacrifice, especially when they offered to *Festa*, whence the proverb *Ἐσθία θάνατος*, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publicly they began to *Vesta* were more then I could well prove, but that they did so is plain. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once *As* *Ἐστία* ἀρχαία to be taken, but this was done in *Libanibus*, in their drink offering, as he on *b* *Aristophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they should be sound and without blemish, whether it were an ox, sheep, goat, swine, calf: to sacrifice they simply termed ἱεῖν which our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere d* *Virgil*, *tum faciam vitula*. Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *ἱδωλάς*, which the Greeks call *dum* *para* *meat*, which by the richer was mingled with oil and wine as the *f* *Scholast* of *Aristoph.* The more weakly instead of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Bellus* the riches were set a part, as *g* *Demosthenes*, *16* *pag. 378.*

a In Ajacem.
Lorum.

b Vid. p. 382.

c vide Pollucem. l. 1.

d In Bucolicis.

e Casaub. in Theop. p. 337.

f Pag. 701.

g Pag. 378.

h Schol. Arist.
p. 374.

their oblations the *μάγειροι* or cooks give the *h* 10 part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀδελφάδων καὶ κωμία, put for οἰκία where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Aristoph.* on ἀδελφεύτης ἢ θεῶν ἢ ἐξῆς ἔχοντα καμία. 10ῃ δ' ἢ ἔχον τὰς δαίμονας ἢ θυμῶν τῶν, Πρυτάνων εἰ μάγειροι δίδωσι δῖον δ' ἑσπέρην ἀδελφάδων ἔχοντα οἰκίαν, &c.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

a De Doct.
Temp. l. 1.
cap. 1.

* *Negar* Petitus Miscel.
l. 8. p. 192.
Petav. affirm.
b *M. Selder.*
in Appar.
ad Græco
Epoch.
Chro.
* id est, *The*
fifteenth day
T. 1. p. 401
c De D. Tero

THe ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred and sixtie daies, each month consisting of thirty. Rude Antiquitie ignorant of celestiall contemplations, deeming the Moon to finish her course in that space. Which according to a *Petavius* seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a main difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*; in which when they found 7 daies deficient, they supplied them by adding * two to every end of the year, called *εταρξισμῶντες*, *deo quod per illud biennium Athenæ Magistratibus carebant*. Because for those two daies *Athens* was without Magistrates. But the last of these four had but 359 daies, besides the two *εταρξισμῶντες*, in respect of the Olympick Games, ever kept in the * full Moon, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moon. Nevertheless the Sun and Moon appearing 14 daies odds in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Month, that this time being lengthened, the course might still returne the same. This all *Greece* observed says *Petavius*; by the *Athenians* termed *παινια*, by the people of *Ereus* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunar year was in use among the *Grandfirs* of *Greece*, is not

not truly known; by Petavius delivered to be of D. 347. every Month 29 D except one, which like our February had but 28 D. Every two years one Month was inserted: one of 29. D. another time of 28 D. But because in two years this * magnus annus surpassed the Moon 15 D. itaque Tetracteryda fecerunt. This consisted of 1445 D 723. & 722. make 1445 so many days 354 four times doubled hath, if you please to adjoyn 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand f Geminus τὸς μῶνας τετρακτῆριος ἔσθαι, καὶ ὃ ἐμβολίμους μὴ ἵσταίν. That must be firstly understood, quoth he, for they did number the months as if they were 30 D. when notwithstanding they had but 29. g Petavius is otherwise conceited, who takes the Scholiast of Aristophanes in that sense, as meaning 29 D. full ones. when indeed exactly taken according to h Geminus you may account 29 1/2; and i Ulpian, εἰς αὐτὴν ἡ ἡμέρα. 29 1/2. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a month was supposed 29. D. k Theon. Μῶνας ἡ ἡμέρα, ἥτις ἡ ἀστρονομία ἐξέστη; καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα, καὶ ὁ μῶνας, ὅς ἐστιν ἡμέρα, καὶ ὁ μῶνας. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plain, ἐστὶν ὁ μῶνας ὁ μῶνας ἡμέρας αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ μῶνας ὁ μῶνας ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν ὅσων ἡμέρας αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ μῶνας ὁ μῶνας ἡμέρας καὶ τῶν ὅσων ἡμέρας αὐτῆς. He means a day the space of a night and a day, for according to such Months did they administer their civil affairs. And now it is in request among many of the Greeks; But of this enough. Soas was the Tetractery found faulty, therefore was made a Kalendar of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sun, to wit, 11 D. made up three months inserted every third, fifth, and eighth year. But the scripples coming short in sixteen years 3 D. they intercalated three; And seeing still they could not make it even, Eratosthenes and Philadelphus made an Almanack of nineteen years, which, by Callippus was produced to 29. Months 640. of them 28. in 360. days. f. & m. n. ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐκείνους ἐκείνους λαίεσιν. This was the progress of their reformation.

d Eleg. Chr. p. 225. Petav. goes not so home. Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 6. * each of these two years severally taken was called vertens, joy-magnus. e Loco laud. f Elem. Astro. c. 8. p. 36. g In Auctario. h Loco citato. i In Arg. Olat. contra Aud. p. 380. k In Arati Dia. scem. p. 74. a Geminus p. 28. in hom I follow. Not ignorant that Metron in the first that made the circle of 39 years. Hence Metron's Metron's Metron's year is put for a long time proverbially.

the precedent Month, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the subsequent. (These pieces *h* *Aratus* calls *συνίπτης Μηνὸς τῆς αἰας*) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his *I Odysses* terms the thirteenth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, *τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡμέραν τῆς αἰας, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἡμέραν τῆς αἰας*. Where we may note that then they had no *αἰας*, but counted from one to twelve in the ordinal numbers, used by *k* *Demosthenes* in one Oration, *ἐς δὲ τὴν αἰαν*, & *ἐς δὲ τὴν αἰαν*. Then putting the lesser to the greater, they said *τῆς αἰας ἐν δέκα, τῆς αἰας δέκα, the third above ten, the fourth above ten, and so to twenty.* * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, and the light almost lost, they changed the order, and used *δέκα τῆς αἰας, ἐν δέκα, &c. the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease, and so to the twenty ninth, ἑξήκοντα τῆς αἰας, the second from the decrease, or from the end, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the 30th they call δέκα ἡμέρας for the cause above.* Here likewise they take the reason why the Moneth ending was *αἰας*. *Ἡ αἰας ἐστὶν ἡμέραν τῆς αἰας, ὅτι αἰας ἐστὶν ἡμέραν τῆς αἰας*, Because the dayes and Moons do as it were die, according to that of *Horace*. *Novaque pergunt interire Luna.* in *Macrobius*, *quid aliud nisi illum αἰας diei, cuius paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen definit secuturi: ὅτι αἰας ἡμέραν, qui praecedit numerum successurus priori in defectum meanti.* *Ἡ αἰας* standing to supply the place of the departing Moneth; fixed and still waiting till the Moon shall have journeyed to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil*, *n Stat sua cuique dies*, as unto which we must pass through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moon. Hence read we *μηνὸς καὶ τῆς αἰας*, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick businesses, or belonging to government. In which course they made their year of CCCLIV dayes, which divided into ten parts, make ten times

In Diosem:
p. 125.
i Odysses.
p. 164.

Contra Ti-
mocratem. p.
446. n. 39.

* Vide Plut.
loco nuper
laudat.

Ulpian in
Dem. p. 210.
m Macrobius
Sat. l. c. 16.

n Aeneid. 10.
p. 300.

a Argum. Or.
Dem. contra
Androt. p. 380.

b Elemen.
Astronom.
pag. 31.

c Macrob. l. 1.
Sat. c. 3. PHN.
nat. hist. l. 2.
c. 77.
d In Theriac.
e Lib. 4 Ep. 8.
f In 1A. ad
εὐχαρίστησιν
γυμνασίου.
g Casaub. in
Athen. p. 931.
h Chronol.
Eclog.
i In 40 num.
24. p. 64.

times 35, which space each αὐτονομία ruled in its turn, the four that abounded were called ἡγεμονίαι, in which they chose Magistrates, being for that time destitute of them. The year thus disposed, the months must of necessity be πλήρεις ἢ κοῖλοι εἶναι & pleni, as b *Geminus*. Οἱ 3 αὐτονομίαι πληπεῖν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσιν λαμβανόμενοι μὴναι οἱ ἄλλοι εἶναι ἡμερῶν κθ'. ὥστε ὁ θμῶν γινώσκαι ἡμερῶν 13'. ἔδει δὲ ταύτῃ τῷ αἵματι οἱ 3 πόλιν μῆνες ἐπιπλάττειν ἀρῶνται πλήρεις ἢ κοῖλοι. διὰ τὴν τῶν Σελήνης δυνάμιν ἡμερῶν 13' 13'. If a Month have 29 D., two have 52. Because therefore the two halves might be made one whole, they so ordered it, that now it should be 29 D. then 30 D. The Athenians counted their day from the setting of the sun on this day until the going down of the next. In respect to which d *Nicander* may be thought to say of noon sleep, ἀνίστασθαι δ' εἰς. To take the rest at the beginning of the even. I know that the Ancients wrought but six hours in the day. e *Martial*, sexta quies lassus septima finis eris. Which f *Eusebius* affirms in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Z. H. @. 1. were the notes of the 7, 8, 9, 10, hours, which joyned make Ζηθι, as if they should have said to the laborers, Rest. The beginning of the year was *Hecatombæon*, July, the eight, saies b *Petrus*. They ever accounted that to be the first Month. In which order I have found them set down in a i Manuscript in our publique Library, only *Μεμαστίριον* is to be put above *Πυανεψιον*.

Roman.	Macedon.	Hebrew.	Egypt.	Hellen.	Athenian.
Ιανουάριος.	Αἰγόκερ.	Σαβ.	Τυβί.	Αὐτταῖ.	Εκπριβαιών.
Φεβρουάριος.	Τόρσερ.	Αβ.	Μαχαίρ.	Περγί.	Μεταγείριον.
Μάρτιος.	Ιχθυός.	Μεσ.	Φαμβράδ.	Δούρι.	Βονδρομιών.
Απρίλιος.	Κελ.	Ιαβ.	Φαμενθ.	Ξανθικός.	Πυανεψιον.
Μάιος.	Ταύρος.	Ψιδορε.	Παύ.	Αρτεμισιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Ιούνιος.	Δίδυμος.	Θαμνί.	Παυνί.	Δαλει.	Πισιργί.
Ιούλιος.	Καρκίνος.	Αβ.	Επρί.	Πάχ.	Γαμλιών.
Αύγουστος.	Λέων.	Βαβ.	Μεσεί.	Λω.	Αντισθειών.

Σαπτιμείος.	Πάρθεος.	Θυελ.	Θυονία.	Γεργύιος.	Ελαφειολών.
Οκτωμείος.	Ζυγός.	Μαρτιά.	Φαωρί.	Υφειρεταιός.	Μουσών.
Νοβημείος.	Σκορπιος.	Χαλιδ.	Εδυελ.	Διες.	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκαμείος.	Τοξότης.	Τιδικ.	Χοιρά.	Απιδαι.	Σκίρροφωών.

In which Table, although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever so removed out of his place, as a *Petitus* Eclog. Chr. will have it, *Epiphanius* contradicting, of which by and by. P. 42. 14. Indeed when the Christians in honour of their *Easter* began the year in *April*, they called *April Hecatombæon*; as he himself Testifies. But that *Hecatombæon* was always the first Month is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's successors changed the head of the year from *July* to the seventh of *October*, it is like that they began at *Mamæterion* according to this rule.

b Loco Laud.

c Ex MS. Biblioth. Bodleianæ in 89. n. 3.

Μαμακτηλιών.
Ποσειδών.
Γαυλιών.
Ανδρηνειών.
Ελαφειολών.
Μουσών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκίρροφωών.
Εκπυρμαίων.
Μεταχρηστιών.
Βονδρομειών.
Πυανεσιών.

d Certain it is that the same *Attick* Moneths are sometimes *Lunary*, & sometimes not, but of 30. Days *Julian*, when they are *Lunary* they have no sure feat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the reason why the same Moneths have not been suted to the *Julian*, by writers.

d Vide Petav. in Epiph. p. 138.

I

Ulpian

e Pag. 21.

f Pag. 163.

g In Olynth. 3.

h Pag. 148.

i Pag. 140.

k Pag. 167.

l Pag. 120.

m Pag. 167.

n Holog. Chr.

l. i. c. 6. p. 213.

o Vide Petav.

in Epiphan.

Ulpian on Demosthenes parallels Hecatombaon to e January, and in the Oration for Cresiphon, to March, and again to f April, g March, he calls Boedromion, which also he interprets h June. Elaphebolion, i November, k September, (in the Margin February) and l December. m Thargelion. April. Munichion, January. Scirophorion, March. Which errors are cursorily noted by n Petit. in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of Augustus Caesar they were charged to conform their year to the Julian, they o thus numbred.

Menses Attici. Menses Juliani.

Ελαφηβολιών.	March.
Μεσχών.	April.
Θαργηλιών.	May.
Σκίρφορειών.	June.
Εκατμβαιών.	July.
Μεταγεσσειών.	August.
Βοεδρομιών.	September.
Μαινακτηριών.	October.
Πυανεσιών.	November.
Ποσειδεών.	December.
Γαμηλιών.	January.
Ανθεστηριών.	February.

a Aristoph.

pag. 906. c.

But of this, so much onely. We must handle their Lunarie year, because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as a τοῦτον εἰ ἔσται ἐν Διονυσίων. So much, and as long since the Bacchanals; speaking of the age of a girl. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy dayes, view this Almanack.

Hecatombaon, July.

1. Πρωτη ἡμέρα ἡμετέρης μηνός.
2. Τετάρτη.
3. Πέμπτη.
4. Πάμπτη.

- 5 Εἴπ.
6 Εὐδῶμ. * Καθόδῃς Θνητῶν Αἰώνων. Kept in memorie of
the return of *Theseus* out of *Crete*, after he had
7* Οὐδῖν. slayn the *Minotaur*, b *Plutarch*. The solemn
tie c *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthis*
8 Εὐάτῃ. *fertur celebrator illo, Illuxisse dies, &c.* the eight
9 Διέτῃ day of every Month was sacred to him. He had
also a festival called *Theseia*, in honor of gather-
ing together the dispersed people of *Attica*.
10 Πρωτῇ μηνίῳ. *Præterea*.
11 Διέτῃ. Κεῖνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ. d.
12 Τετῇ. Κρόνια. Of these, as also of the day, speaks d *De-*
13 Τετῇ. *mofthenes*. Then did the masters wait on
14 Πέμῃ. their servants; as in the Roman Saturnals, * Then were
15 * Εὐτῇ, c *L. Accius*. *Maxima pars Graium Saturno*, kept the Me-
16 Εὐδῶμ. & *maxime Athena* Conficiunt sacra, qua *mo-*
17 Οὐδῶν. *Cronia esse iterantur ab illis, Cumq; diem cele-* *monial* of their
18 Εὐάτῃ. *brant, per agros, urbesque fere omnes Exercent* *transmigration*.
19 Εὐεῖς. *epulis lati, famulosq; procurant Quisque suos* *Plut, p. 8. l. 9. By*
20 Διέτῃ. *Θιόνῳ*. Κεῖνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ. c. Hence was *εὐεῖς* *Ari-*
21 Εὐάτῃ, this month called by the ancient *Atheni-* *stoph. p. 700.*
22 Οὐδῶν, *ans* *Κεῖνῳ*; afterwards *Hecatombaon*, from *Plur. initio*
23 Εὐδῶμ. *ἐγτομῶν*, sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*, f *Metamorp.*
24 Εὐτῇ. some think with the blood of an hundred
25 Πέμῃ. beasts: For so were they profuse in their pag. 6.
26 Τετῇ. sacrifices. f *Ovid*. *Taurorum sanguine centum*.
27 Τετῇ παραθύρῳ. g The Scholiast of *Homer*
28 Διέτῃ. saies that *Hecatombe* may be used for five
29 Εὐνυχία. and twenty beasts, whose feet make up the
number of an hundred, and ἡ ἐγτομῶν, ἡ δὲ ἐν
πέντε ζώων.

* To *Minerva* the protectress of their citie, as hath been before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as h *Plutarch*, ἡ παραθύρῳ lib. 8.

δοσιας ἐποίνων καὶ πλῶ. At first they had the name Ἀθλῶσις, by *Erichonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called πυρρίαι, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplos*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in i *Mensius* at large, and k *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

The second of this month, is called τρίτη, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo* called Μεταγίγνις.

- 1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.
- 2
- 3
- 4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.
- 5
- 6
- 7 πρυτανεία δούλες.
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ε'.
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21

22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30

Κυρία ἑλληνισία β'.

* Boedromion. September.

* From this Month came the Feast Boedromia from Theseus overthrowing the Amazons.

1
2 Νίκη ἐς Πλαταιάς. When Pausanias and Aristides over-
3 threw Mardonius, Xerxes his General near Plataea, a
4 citie of Bœotia, a Herodotus, b Justin.

Plut. p. 9. or Ion helping the Athenians against Eumolpus

5 Νίκη ἐς Μαραθῶνι. Miltiades leader of the Attick forces
6 Κυρία ἑλληνισία γ'. got the upper hand of the Persians.

Bondesquet v to aid because in necessity they made a cry..

7
8
9
10
11
12

Κυρία ἑλληνισία δ'. ships, he caught hold of one with his
right hand, which lost, he made use

of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prowess spared not his teeth,

11
12

Χαρισηύα Ελδθάριας, of his left; that cut off, he in token
of his prowess spared not his teeth,

Lucian.

to the eternizing of his name for valour against his
enemies.

Latini Quiritari hence help came in.

14 * Ἀγυρμὸς Μοχέσια.
15 In thankfulness for the delivery of Greece, at what

a Calliop. p. 234 b. lib. 3.

16 time Darius and his fleet went homeward. b Aristi-
17 des describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Al-
18 tar to Jupiter that freed them.

Tom. 1. p. 157. see Plut.

19 * The greater in which they were made εὐσεβήσαι, or ad-
20 mitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first

in Arist. p. 241? Sch. Arist.

21 day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the

p. 247.

people

Here I look, on
Mourfius for

brevities sake;

but if you please

to read several

by, see Aristoph.

Sch. p. 85. 98.

131. 138. 455.

529. 647. 142.

218. 227. 228.

231. 232. 217.

262. 264. 516.

Aristid. T. 1.

p. 323. Clem.

Alex. in Pro-

trep. p. 10.

a Sympof. Q. 1.

9. q. 6. & in l.

οὐκ ἐπὶ λαοῖς

οὐκ ἐπὶ λαοῖς

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* ΚΥΕΙΑ ἑκατημερία. 2. people. The second

because the Crier then warned

them to goe to the sea. the third day they sacrificed

a Barble, because it devours the sea hare, an enemy

to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-

presenting Proserpine gathering flowers, which wo-

men following cried *χαῖρε Δήμητερ*, Hail Ceres. The

fifth, they ran with torches Hence *λαμπάδων ἡμέρα*, and

λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. The sixth, Bacchus was carried in pomp,

hence it is termed *ἐκχυθ*. The seventh day they exercised

in feats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given

him. The 8th was Epidauria from *Æsculapius* his coming

from Epidaurum to Athens to be initiated. In the ninth they

filled two measures of corn, and setting one at East and the

other at the West, they poured them out, one looking to

heaven and crying 'ὦ τὸ ὅθεν τὸ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, & the

other to the ground, saying, *τοῦ ὅθεν τὸ πρὸς τὴν γῆν*.

Thus Mourfius. That day was *πλημωχόν*.

The second of this Month was left out ever, saies a Plu-

tarch, instead of which some are persuaded, the name onely

was omitted, as *πνέουσα* for *Τεῖτη*, which was recompenced

by *ἐκτεῖτη* *ἐθινοῦς*, or *ισαμῶν*. As in a defective Month

ἐκτεῖτη *ἐθινοῦς*, for the twentieth. Of this judgment is the

worthy Petavius:

* Πυανεψιον. October.

* Maxima Cerion

is to be inserted

here.

This Month took denomination from the Feasts *Πυανεψια*.

For mingling the remainder of their food after their arriving

they put it into one pot, and seething it, were Jovial altoge-

ther at the same.

1

2 ΚΥΕΙΑ ἑκατημερία. β'.

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7 Πανάψια. After that *Theseus* had buried his Father,
 8 he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if
 9 he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaur*, he
 10 would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beans. Hence
 11 Πανάψια, as it were, κωμῆψια. For the antiquities called
 12 Ανοδος εἰς τὴν Θηροφῆν. [beans πωάμν.

12

13

14 Θηροφῆν. *c* *Plautus* calls this Festival *Vigilias* *c* In *Aul.*
Cereris, which the *Attick* Dames

15 kept most sober and chaste, strowing their beds with co-
 16 ηντα for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They
 17 prepared themselves with fasting, but after that, took
 18 αὐτανόια δ'. their liquor freely. The number
 19 of dayes were three allotted, as

19 some, or four, as others, When *Castellanus* saies that
 20 *Ovid* makes them nine, its false, for that was the *Myste-*
 21 *ria*, as we above have shewn. They were done in ho-
 22 * nour to *Ceres*, that gave laws first, as she is termed

23 Δεῖνότης Θηροφῆν. Of these you may read *d* *Aristo-* d Pag. 611.
 24 *phanes* and his Scholiast. 770. 781. 783.
 819. 820. 829.

25 Απαύεμα. Kept this Month. When the Parents brought
 26 their children to their Tribes, to be inrolled, I suppose
 27 for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made mer-

28 Κουία ἐκκλησία α'. ry for four daies. The first was
 29 Δορυία. The second Αἰγυρία. The

29 third Κυρεώτις. The fourth Επίβου.

30 Καληνῆ in honour of *Minerva*. *f* *Minusius* teaches us *f* *Græcia* Fe-
 that they were celebrated the 17 of this *ria*. l. 1.
 Month, but *Petius* hath thus placed them.

Mamaeter

Mamæsterion November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyænepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as Mr *Selden*, *Petavius*, and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for most approved.

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Κυεῖα ἐκκλησίαι. β'.

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Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. γ'.

Plutarch in the life of *Aristi-*

18

des, says that the *Beotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly

19

some to sacrifice to the memory of those that died at

20

Plataea, and every fifth year they have great pastimes,

21

which c he sets down the manner of.

22

23

ἐμυτῆριον. δ'. This Moneth is derived from *Jupiter*

24

Mamætes: for I suppose they first found Gods, after-

25

wards Festivals to them. Not the Moneths first, and

26

then named the Gods from them.

27
28
29

Posideon December.

From *Νεπιδνε*, who is *Posidon*. For the first day of this Month was sacred to him, as *b Casanbon*, Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσειδών & ἡμέρα.

b In Theoph.
Char. ult. p.
336.

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4 *Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία α'.*

5 *Ἀλώα.* *Dionysia* τὰ ἐξ' ἀρχῆς, Without the City. It seems when they had gathered in vintage,

6 and pressed their grapes. *Λύον Torcular*. Then were they

7 most jocund, as may appear out of that, *Like the voice of*

8 *them that tread the Wine press*, and in *c Oppian*. ἐμπλῖνα

9 *χαίρειν*. On which words *d Conradus Ristarpsus* takes

10 *Ἀλωαὶν* to be *January*.

11

12

13 *Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία β'.*

14

15

16 *Ἀλώα.* A Feast to *Ceres*. The day doubtful; *e Demosth.* *e* Pag. 743.

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Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία γ'.

25

26 Κνεία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

27

28

29 Πρυτανία. ε'.

30

Gamelion January.

1 From the Marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-
 2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*
 3 on *Lycophron*. That Month wherein this people coupled,
 4 hence is called *Gamelion*, from γάμος, *nuptia*. It is sacred
 5 to *Juno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *conjuga-*
 6 *lis*, Prefident of Weddings and the Marriage bed.

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9 Κνεία ἐκκλησία. α'.

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18 Κνεία ἐκκλησία. β'.

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28 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησίᾳ. γ'.

29

Anthisterion. February.

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2 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησίᾳ. δ'.

3

4

5 πρῶτη γ'.

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11. Ἀνθιστέρια Kept in great mirth for three daies in Of this you
the honour of *Bacchus*. The first *πιδόσια* may see Ari-
12 from *πιδό* the tubs, and *ἰγνεν* to open, for at the broad- Roj. h. p. 293.
13 ching of their vessels they drunk stiffely. The second 417. 419.
14 *χοαί* from *Chm*, a good capacious vessel. In this he that 422. 222.

15. Κυεῖα ἐκκλησίᾳ. δ'. could drink down the rest of
his companions had a golden The day was
16 crown. The third *χύτες*, I suppose different from called *χύτες*
17 *χύτεροι*. From this festival the month is named. The likewise, but
18 twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lymnis* were kept, called not in the
19 *μεγάλα* & *ἁχαυότες*. The 13th were acted Comedies, a In Terent.
20 begun the 3^d year of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias* pag. 289.
21 was *Archon*. But after they were taught as a *Donat* b In Demost.
22 and b *Ulpian* witness, and c *Aristophanes*, 571 πλὴν c pag. 184.
23 *συμπέχει* ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ κινὰ δέματα βλέπειν, saies one c Pag 143.
24 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησίᾳ. β'.

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76

Archæologia Attica. Lib. 2. Cap. 10.

29

30

Elaphæbolion March.

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4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.

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7 Θυσία Ἀσκληπιάδ. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ'.

8

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10 πρωτανία ή.

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16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' αἶν.

e Contra
Ctesiphon,

17

18

19

20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.

21

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29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β'.

Of these c *Æschines* makes
mention, & you shall have
them obvious every where
in Greek Authors.

Munychion

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Κυεῖα ἐκκλησιᾶ. α.

Κυεῖα ἐκκλησιᾶ. α.

Μυνύχια πρώτηνια ἐστίν.

Διάττα.

Κυεῖα ἐκκλησιᾶ. α.

Munychia were
 observed to Di-

ana, who was so called and had a temple in *Munychia*,
 by *Athens*. The month bears the name. In this month
 were the causes of strangers adjudged. *a Arist. Sc. To*
Jupiter Melichius The greatest day that
 the *Attick* rout was kept in. See this
b Aristophanes and *c Eustathius*.

a Avib. p. 60.
b Pag. 150.
174.
156. &
156. l. 1.

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Κυρία εὐκλυσία, β'.

6

Δαρυήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their
 nativitie. On this day did they expiate for the sins of the
 people. For they were wont to nourish some base men,

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8

and of no account, at the publick charge when in time
 of pestilence, or the like they sacrificed for the sins of the

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10

Citie, two in number, saies the *a Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*,
 whence they were called *σμεδιστοί*: but more properly

11

12

καθαρισταί & φαρμακοί b Aristophanes.

13

14

15

Κυρία εὐκλυσία γ'.

16

17

18

Κυρία εὐκλυσία δ'.

19

20

Βινδύδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is
 named *Βινδύς*.

21

Παναθήναια μεγάλη. Not much different from the greater. See *Menysius*.

22

23

Καλλυπτήρεια. *Πρυτανία*, ι'.

24

25

Πλωτήρεια. *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, others
 will have the 25. To *Minerva*, on

26

which they take off the ornaments of her statue, and
 wash it I suppose, *c Plutarch, d Xenophon.*

27

28

29

a In Equites

pag. 353.

b In Raris:

c Pag. 152.

d Ελλην. δ.

p. 257.

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12 *Σύεσ*

To *Minerva* from *οἰστῶν*, a Canopie, under which her Priests did walk in pomp at that

13 time : or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus* :

14 c *Schol. Aristoph.*

ε Pag. 497.

15 *Βυρβόρα.*

It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe : wherefore when one had slain that

725.

16 beast eating the meal provided for the Sacrifice, he

17 slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was

18 kept. Afterwards they did mitigate the Law, and gave

19 licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the

20 plough. To which *d Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos d Satyr. 10.*

21 *Κυεῖα ἑκκλησία. γ'.*

Qui domini cultris tenne & ver. 168.

22

23

24 *Κυεῖα ἑκκλησία. δ'.*

25

26

27 *Πρωτανεία ἢ πρώτη ἀρχὴ, &c.*

28 Where *Petius* makes the four first Tribes to govern* *Athen. Rep.*

29 each his day, on those four that abounded above the^{l. 2. c. 3.}

30 year, * *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Manficus* ap-^{* In notis ad}

Harpocra.
proves

* De Doct.
Temp. l. 2. c. 1.
* De emend.
Temp. l. 7.

proves it. Neither is it misliked by * *Petavius*. * *Scaliger* hath falsely taught us otherwise, who maketh each *Prytania* to rule 36 daies, which none are ever to have done, except the first four.

C A P. XI.

De Tragædia, Satyra, & Comædia.

a Vid. Can.
Ciro. ad Gr.
Epoch. Mar.
Arund. p. 97.
b Hermog. de
Eloq. Meth.
p. 561. c. 33.
Eustath. in
Præf. ad Iliad.
c Tract. de
Trag. & Co-
med. Præfat.
Terentio.

d Marmo. A-
rund & ad
ea Seld. CL.
Præfixa eti-
am Aristoph.
ἐν καμῶν. δ.

e Sch. in Naz.
utcl. l. d. 176.

IT is taken for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who lived a 907 years before Christ, was the first that taught ^b *ἡρακλῆς λέγειν*, to speak in Tragædy; comprehending great and many matters in few words and very concisely, being more large and using circumlocutions in matters of less consequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragædian. This foundation being laid, following ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfection. Nam post illius tale tantumq; documentum, &c. says *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the *Iliads* had represented a Tragædie, by the *Odyssees* a Comædy, most ingenious imitators took those Poems and set them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconsiderately, & without judgment written, impolished, and in the first rudiments not so neat and trim, as in process of time they were made. For Poesie was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the first publishing of Plays. For we see little or nothing of *d Susarion*, the first Comædian, worth our time: some few verses onely, and so few as may but witness such an Author. The original of the word Comædy is supposed to be taken from divers reasons: First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they sung them, and so it may be derived from *καμῶν* *commesatio* *καμῶν*, signifying *εἰς μέθυ αἰγῶν ἀδῶν*, to sing basely at the cup. Secondly, from *καύω*, sleep; because when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the custome (as before hath been spoken) for the party abused, to come in the

the night season into the streets, and with a loud voice cry, such and such rejoyce in wrong, commit some outrages, though there be Gods and Laws. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was fought out by the husbandmen and much shamed; by which these wrongs were redressed. Thirdly from καίον, a street, because when the old Athenians would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merily in the streets and high ways, they layd open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, f *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis lati, alacresque veniebant: ubique eum nominibus singulorum vitam publicabant.* These verses were first sung g in the green Meddows, h about the beginning of the spring; When the husbandmen kept the Festivals of Bacchus the God of Wine, to whom they sacrificed a Goat, because his biting is an enemy to the Vine, the skin of which they took and sowed up close, filled with wine, and anointed it with oyle to make it slippery, and so hopped with one leg upon it, making themselves laughter at the falls they often took. This sport they ἀπωλιάζειν from ἀπός & skin and ἀλεσσαι, to leap, i Aristophanes. ἀπωλιάζ' ἐσταύδω σός τλω αἰσπία. k Virgil hath fitly set it out.

f Donatus
Tra. & Com
g Idem ibid.
h In Synopsi.
vix Aristop.
Th Magister.

i Plut. p. 108
k Geor. 2.

*Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Caditur, & veteres ineunt proscennia ludi:
Pramiaque, lingentes Pagos, & compita circum
Thesida posuere: atque inter pocula lati
Mollibus in pratis, unctos saliere per utres.*

l Isa. Tzetzes
in Proleg. ad
Poetas, inter-
prets καμάς
μαρίου χαλκία

After *Susarion*, sprang up *Thespis*, the first that made Tragedies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lacrymosa Poemata*, sad Poems, because they represent humane miseries, the misfortunes of Kings and great men especially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as m *Arrian* hath observed. n Which thing gave an occasion to n *Socrates*, when he saw the most worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to say to *Antisthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did some famous exploit? So in Tragedies we mark

m In Epictet.
pag. 95.
n *Ælian*, Var.
l. 2. c. 11.

that such as *Atræus*, *Thyestes*, and *Agamemnon* are slain; but what Poet was yet so impudent as to bring a base fellow on the stage sacrificed? Nor supernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, desiring that he would write a Tragedy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragedy might happen to him, meaning sorrow and lamentation. For so is *Τετραγῶν* used, as *ο Κρησῖα* for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The first Tragedy that *Thespi* taught, was that of *Alcestis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as *p Mr Selden* hath conjectured. This *Thespi* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragedies, as *ο ἀνθρώπων ἄδελφός*, a fruitless lying *Horace* of him thus speaks,

*Ignotum tragica genus invenisse camæna
Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespi;
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti sæcibus ora.*

Upon which words some have written, that his Poems were so voluminous, that he was constrained to bring them upon wains. But alas, a poor conceit! *r Franciscus Lusinus Uticensis* is of opinion, That *Thespi* carried his scene upon carres, and *Acron*, That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragedies. *Chori plaustris circumducti Tragedias, agebant.* I avouch that at the first the Poets acted alone their own Fables. And to me it seems a ground for to stand on, the Greek Authors by the word *ὑποκριτής*, intimating a Poet. *Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριταί, &c.* The ancients, saies *Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, actors, which we now term *Tragædy*, such as *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, &c. The place in which they sung their Poems, was a scene upon a Wain drawn in Procession to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the custome was saies the Scholiast of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in those ancient times, * *Plutarch* shall thus inform you *Αὐτοὶ ποτὶς οἶνον ἐν κλυσματί, &c.* A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and last of all the *Phallus*, In which Solemnity the Poets in Wains following the pomp, might without controul laugh, scorn, and deride any they met, saies *x Dionysius Halicarnassensis*,

o Athen. l. 3.
p. 90.
p Ad Marm.
Arund.
q Laert. in
Solone p. 40.

v In Horatii
poetic.

f Schol. Arist.
p. 142.

r In Demosth.
p. 40.

u Stel. β. p. 107.
* ἐνὶ κλυσματί.
p. 345.

x Antiq. Rom.
l. 7.

Jew or were wont, as the *γ* Schol. of *Nazian.* to rayl upon each other. Whence *πυπτέειν*, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in good sence sometimes *ε* to celebrate the pomp, or go in procession in honour to the festival) and *α τομσηα*, a scandal or reproach, *ὕβρις, λοιπεία*. Whence likewise came the Greek proverb, *ὅς τις ἄμαρτης λαλεῖν, tanquam ex planstro loqui*, and *ὅς τις ἄμαρτης ὀβελῆεν tanquam ex planstro convitiari*, to give rein to the tongue, to be free in abuse. Which that they might do the better without shame, or blushing, sometimes would they anoint their faces *amarca, olei* face, with the dregs of oyl, saies *Donat.* or of wine (for so I interpret *πρῶτα*) from which Poets by *Ἀριστοφάνης* are called *πρῶτοδαιμονες*. *Horace. Peruneli facibus ora*. Sometimes would they put on vizards, which least they should hurt the head were defended from the skin with a wollen cap named *πυλίσκος*. A word elegantly used by *Demosthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunitie of the persons that wore it, *Οἳ καὶ οἱ δὲ πάλιν δάσειν παλίσκων καὶ τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων καὶ πύλινον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον*. Think not to escape scot-free for such villanie, though you get a *Pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any slanderer, of whom we surely intend to be revenged. But I seem to forget the Poet, while I speak of the Stage; I will therefore return to him. *Thespis*, as I said, was the first that invented Tragedies; so called, as *Donat* tels, because (lest there should be rewards wanting by which good wits might be stirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Capere namque pro dono his dabatur. τέρψις* is a Goat, and ὁδὴ a song. *Horace, Carmine qui Tragico vitem certavit ob hircum*. Before that time some say that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragedies but the most received opinion is this which *Horace* hath set down of *Thespis*. Before him there was no art of poeie Tragical, but at their festivals, when they ascribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did especial

ly to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when the Actors are called *Δορυς πύριτος*, and *πύριτος*, simply by *Demosthenes*, by *Donat.* *Artifices*. The word is used for Juglers, and such as *Hokus Pokus* in *Theophrastus*) they would feast & afterward scoff and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their solemnities. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, and from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up. They would likewise cast forth *ἀνὰ πῶς ἀσπυδία* as they term them, in *Virgil's* language, *versus incomptos*, & *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi solitos & sine arte*. For they had of old but two sorts of verses, *Heroicks*, in which they sung the praise of Gods and Noble men, and from this in a short time with small care grew a *Tragædie*, the other sort was *Iambicks* as toying and lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a *Comædie*. At first small was the difference between a *Tragædie* and *Comædie* *constat sane primis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragædiam & Comædiam*, and the reason is because even *Tragædies* had their wantonness and petulancie. At first they sung in honour to *Bacchus* *Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their *Demi-gods*, which when the people saw they cryed down, with *ὀπίσθε τῆς Διόνυσου*, whence our proverbial adverb is fitly used *ἀπὸ τῆς Διόνυσου*, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the satyrs did *prælude*. But after that, when a *Tragædie* took state they excluded the *Satyrs*, and were only for sad and serious persons; by which mournful poems the people were wont to be cast down, sympathizing with the person represented, therefore to cheer them up a *Chorus* of wanton *Satyrs* were

g Orat. *Ἰσχυρῶς*, p. 242.
h Charact. vi.
Cassaub.

i Georg. 2.
k Cassaub. d.
Sat. Poet. l. 1.

l Cassaub. ib.

m De arte poet. brought in by *Thespis* as m *Horace*.

*Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit. & asper
Incolumi gravitati, jocum tentavit, ed quod
Illecebris erat & gratâ novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris, & potus, & exlex.*

In a *Satyrick* play, *Satyrs* have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons

persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the
 mindes of the Spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for
 sports sake, and many of their Tragedies had some mixture
 of Satyrick sport, saies n Casaubon. *Fuisse aliquando pluribus* n p. 126. de
Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas. Of this I say Sat. Poeti.
Theſpis was the first inuenter, who likewise to ease the *Cho-*
rus (o for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage. a Laert. p. 210
 to whom *Æschylus* added one and *Sophocles* another, so the
 number was three, *Æschylus* is *Ἰσθμίων*, *Sophocles* is
ῥαϊνίου, a word put for an obscure & base fellow in *p De-* p 184.
mosthenes, *Vlpian*, *ὡς ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν*, speaking of
Æschines, if I remember, *Tully* calls them Actors *secundarum*
& tertiarum partium. b Ut in actoribus Gracis fieri videmus,
sape illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit ali- q In diuinat.
quanto clariùs dicere quàm ipse primarum, multum summittere,
ut ille princeps quàm maximè excellat. But let me speak
 what I have to say of a Tragedie. a None was permitted
 once to act *Æschylus*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragedies a Plutarch, in
 but they were to be recited to the Scribe, that the actors p. 452. B.
 might (as I conceiue) repeat them. *τὸν δὲ πῶλεω γεγενητὴν*
παρὰ τὸν πῶλεω γεγενητὴν τὸν πῶλεω γεγενητὴν, *ὡς ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν*
ῥαϊνίου. And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator,
 were they commanded to be transcribed, & kept under cu- b Juxta finem
 stodie *ἐν κεινῷ.* Yet the *b* Author of the life of *Æschylus*
 writes that the people made a decree, that he should receive
 such a summe of gold, that would *διδάσκων* the plaies of *Æ-*
schylus after his death. I put the word *διδάσκων*, *docere.* Because
 Tragedians as well as the Comedians were said *ὡς δὲ διδάσκων*
ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν, to labour in teaching the people. And
 for this end did the ancients lay out so much mony upon their
 Theaters. c Sed immane quos quantosque sumptus, in Theatra,
in Comædiarum ac Tragædiarum representationem fecerit an- c Heinſius
tiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisque emendari, & pru- Proleg. ad A-
dentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima & formas Reipub- ristarchum
lice, ac vitam magistratum, cum summo Spectatorum fructu, Sacrum.

in Comædia examinari, factiones componi, ac gravissima subinde publico suppeditari crederent consilia Not unfaily therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theatre, *I came hither to teach you, and not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers say, *ἡ δὲ δῶδ' ὅραται ὁδοῦναι τὴν fabulā*, and *ἡ δὲ δῶδ' ὁδοῦναι*, *docere*, as sometime *διδασκαλῆναι*, as you may see in *Athenæus* The following Poets did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times their predecessors, so saies *Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. He brought great grace to the stage, & first taught *οὐλομένης ἑστῆς*, the painting of the Scenes, which some think *Horace* to aim at, when he saies, *Modicū instravit pulpita signis*. Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did *πολλὰ ἀνέστηναι*, bring in many new things: such as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himself acted) by reason of the badness of his own voice; he found out white shooes which the Actors and Dauncers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted likewise his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. But that he invented *οὐλομένης ἑστῆς* I cannot find. Somewhat likewise was added by *Enripides*: *g* as to set out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragœdie, as you may observe; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last & principle point of that one action which he would represent, which by the glory of our nation *h* *Sr Phil. Sidney* is not past by as frivolous, without noting. These three were the Princes of the Tragick stile, who exhibited to the People every year at some certain solemnities their Poems, striving who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges, chosen for that purpose, called *ἡ δέκα ἑκαταὶ κείται*, and *κείται ἐν δέκα ἑκαταὶ*; Ten in number, think some at first, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Because

d Athenæus
Dip. lib. 6.
pag. 768.
v. d. Casaub.
e pag. 170.
f Lib. 10.

g T. Magister.

h In the defence of Poëse.
i Heinſius in Proleg. ad Aristarchum sacrum.
k Æschines cont. Ctesiph.

cause when he had brought the Reliques of *Thesens* out of *Syrus*, *Aphepsion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, chose not the Judges as soon as the Theatre was filled, and Spectators placed: but presently after *Gimon* entered the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captains, of each Tribe one, after accustomed sacrifice he swore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young, for which *Æschylus* grieving went into *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried near *Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of these Critick Judges was always ten. This we acknowledge done in testimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* service. And yet in judgment upon Tragedians, the number might be so great. For there seems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragedies and Comedies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be such as we speak; the power incontrollable, as from whom there was no appeal to other *m Cum neque provocatio ab iis esset, neque de quibus m Heinsius lo-*
illi judicarent, magistratus ceteri sententiam pronunciarent. The *co laudato.*
Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, *πέντε κριτῶν ἐς γέρας κίττω. sub quinque n Zenobius.*
Judicibus lra est. The *o* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* speaks some- *o Ad Aves. p.*
what uncertain. Judges, quoth he, pass censures upon the *562.*
Comedians, and they who had five voices were happy. Those were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equal voices. For the odd gave a great stroak. Hence wishes the *Chorus* in the behalf of the Poet — *Ἐνὶ κριτῶν ἑνὶ κριτῶν μόνον*, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had freeliberty of suffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For when *Aristophanes* taught his *Νεφέλαι*, they so much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, *ὃ προσέτατον τῆς κριτῶν ἀνάδην Δεικνύντω, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γρά-
ειν*, saies *p* *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Aristophanes* uppermost (as the fashion was, which *q* *Aristophanes* *q* *Var. H. l. 2.*
Avib. p. 362.

nes calls *πρωταῖον* ἐν *πρωτοῖς*, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and the next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiusve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and Spectators, r *Aristophan*.

Οὐνοῦ ἐπὶ τέτοις παῖσι νικῶν πῆς χριτοῖς

καὶ τοῖς διαταῖς παῖσι -- Where the Scholiast interprets

οὐνοῦ truly as it is to be understood, *ὕψους*, to supplicate. And good reason, For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use f *Aristophanes* points, saying, — *ὡς ἐβάλλετο*; nay, sometime would they hiss them, which they term *κλάζεν* and *σειπῆν*, sometime stamp them out of the Theatre, which they call *πῆρρον* *παῖν* by t *Pollux* interpreted *ἐδύλια τὰς πῆρτας κατακρῖν*. Another difference is that n the *Comick* Judges were punished if they judged not right, the *Tragick* not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no odds between the Critick Judges of *Tragædies* and *Comædies*. But of this Reader, you may determine as your authors shall afford authority: before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they who in their opinion lost the day, were said * *ἐκπίπτειν*, by x *Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their *Tragædies* were the holy daies of *Bacchus*, called *Dionysius* in *Agrus*, or *Lenæa*, in the moneth *Poseidon*, on the *Anthesteria*, or *Dionysia* in *Lymnis*, in the month *Anthesterion*, or *Dionysia* in *urbe* in the month *Elaphæbolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in γ *Laertius*, which some deny, yet the same write, that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festival, I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient dayes to entertain their people with

r Loco laud.

f Ranis pag.
428.

t Lib. 6. c. 19.
u Æschines
contra
Ctesiph.
pag. 98.

* Heinsius
Prolegom.
x Sat. Poeti,

y Platone
pag. 120.

with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modò singulas committerent fabulas, modò plures, faves & Casaubon*: sometime in the same year three, and then was it called *τριλογία*; sometimes four, and then they stiled it *τετραλογία*, ² *Τὸ δὲ πρῶτον Δογματὶ ἐκάλειτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ*. Whereof faves mine Author, the fourth was a Satyrical play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one & the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Orestia*; to wit, *Ἀγαμέμνων*, *Χοηφίεσσι*, *Ευμειδῆς*. Which are all extant, the fourth was *Protens Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides Medea Philoctetes. Dictys*. The fourth was *Θησεία*, faves the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word *Θησεία*, *Σίνου* ⁵; *Messores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Messores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word bears this sense is sufficiently dilucidated by ⁶ *Casaubon*. That the greatest task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noon. The number of them in Comedies were twenty four, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of four; but *σὶνχι* four, each *σὶνχι* six men) in Tragœdies fifty, until the time of *Æschylus* his *Æumenides*, the number of which so terrified the people, ^c that the children and younger sort fainted, and the women suffered abortion; for which reason, faves *Pollux*, the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fifteen, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into *σὶνχι*, and *ζυγα*. *Ζυγὸν* was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called *στὶ ζυγὰ τὰρ ὁδὸν*, by file. *Σίνχι*, when they came on the stage in rank five at a time; and this they term *στὶ σὶνχι*. Sometimes one of them entred alone, which they say *ἑὸν ἴρα*. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three, but if a fourth spake, that they named *μεταχρησμένα*; and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth Actor, it was stiled *μετακλινόμενον*. To speak of the several verses of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*:

⁷ De Satyrica
Poesi p. 131.

^a Laertius
loco citato.

^b Lib. laudat.

^c Author vice
Æschyl.

and I had rather speak of the action, then the art in composing and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed *εστρα* and *ἀνστροφά*. *Εστρα*, says the Scholiast of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in Analogie to the motion of the universe *ἡ πᾶσις*, from the *East* to the *West*, because *Homer* calls the *East* the right hand, the *West* the left: Contrary to the *Hebrews*, who term the *South* *Iamim*, which signifies the right hand, and the *North* they counted the left. *Ανστροφά* was a turning from the *West* to the *East*, that is, from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another posture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be so in Tragedies, as in Lyrick Musick, which I believe) to express the immobility of the earth they stood still. They used *Epodes* for the most part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the stage. Thus much of Tragedies; the authors of which were highly of old esteemed of; insomuch as after the dismal discomfite of the *d Athenians* in *Sicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat somewhat of *Enripides*. Nay, by a law made by *e Lycurgus*, &c. established in *Athens*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Enripides* had Statues erected in brass for the continuation of their memory. After Tragedies had proceeded to perfection, Comedies were with great applause taught, as *f Horace*,

*Successit vitæ his Comœdia, non sine multa
Laude—*

He says, *vetus Comœdia*, because a Comedy was divided into three, or if you please so to speak, two sorts, the Old and New. I said three sorts, because * the old was different from it self. The meaning is, that the old Comedy, of which *Su-farion* (by some named *Sannyrion*,) was Author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the smoking Altars, sung *simplex carmen*, some naked verses, says *Donat*. Which by *Cratinus* was redressed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his sport profit, I mean for instruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawfull to exagitate and propose for

d Plut. in fine
vitæ Nicæ.
e Plut in vit.
x. Resp. Paul.
Atticis p. 18.

f De arte
Poetica.

* Grammat.
in Plauti
ἑαυτῶν δια-
φέρεται.

for a laughing stock Captains and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and such as lead a dissolute life, naming the men upon the stage and fitting the Actors with vizards bearing the shape of those whom they intend to deride. But as the state grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Empolis* being cast into the sea by those against whom he wrote his Comœdie *Bapta*, and so drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not *ἀνευκαὶ* *Κρυπιδῶν*, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdie of. Of which *Herace*,

^a Hermog.
Partiti. p. 76

*Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege rege. Lex est accepta, Chorusque
Turpiter obtinuit sublato jure nocendi.*

But when *Alexander of Macedon* grew potent and a terror to Greece, the Poets fearing least any of their abusive wit might displease the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and instead of abusing states & people, they fell upon ancient Poems, or sœ part of Historie not truly written, personating the Actors so as to be most ridiculous, sometimes scoffing on the stage at mean men, and this they termed *Νέα Κρυπιδία*, the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a piece of their *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people should be tossed on the stage, unless they would themselves, saies *c Xenophon* knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier sort, *ἀγαθῶν* *ἰσχυρῶν* *δυνατῶν*. Some are of opinion that no player came on the stage until thirty or forty; I dispute not the matter, sure I am that *Sophocles* taught his first Tragedie at twenty eight, in which doubtless himself came on the Stage. It being among the Athenians no disgrace as the Romans accounted it, to appear there. *d* *Emilius Probus*. *In scenam vero prodire, & populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus (Græcis) fuisse turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honestate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld these plaies and pastimes was in the market place, where they nayled scaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in

^b Donat. Ge-
neraliter ad
omnes homi-
nes qui me-
diocribus
fortunis a-
gunt, &c.
^c Athen. Rep.

^d Praefatione
ad vitas p. 2.

^e Menf. Att.
Lect. l. 4.
^c ult.

ancient time they had no Theatre of Stone, only of wood, which they call *κλέα*. f. *Aristophanes*.

f Theoproph.
pag. 787.

— — — — — Ἄντι τῆς κλέας.

Ἦν δὲ τὸν ἡμῶν — — —

g Casaub. in
Theoph. p.
245.

h Zenobius.

i Cont Leo-
cha. p. 617.
n. 30. 31.

k Olynth. 1.
pag. 7.
l L. con apud
Plut. Mor. p.
421.

m Lib. 6. fine.

These were built by some, who upon some consideration of money admitted any to a seat, named therefore *ἑσθλαῖται*. Once it seems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuses. For striving to get places, there rose wrangling and brawles, and fights, wherefore the Attick Senate ordained that each place should be hired for two *oboli* (in the Consulship of *Diaphantas*, a *Drachme*, say some, whence rose the Proverb, *Δραχμὴν παλάμῃ*; because at the establishing of it, there fell hail) This money they called *συνεῶν*, from *συνεῶν*: because with it they did *συνεῶν ἀγοράζον*, buy a seat to behold the shew exhibited. Now because the poor people had not to give, & so were deprived of the spectacle, *Pericles* desiring to be popular, made a law that they should receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man, i For the right of enacting which money, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchical* Rolles; as appears out of *Demosthenes*. For the distribution of this were certain officers appointed, named *εἰσὶν δυνεῖν* q. But afterwards *Apollodorus* strove that in warr and publick necessity, these summes might be employed in military affairs, but he endeavoured in vain; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting in capital for any that should attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes k *Demosthenes* desist, willing, yet not daring to perswade to convert the money to the use of the Armie. But see the folly of them, l For they spent as much on these sports as in obtaining the masterie and libertie of Greece. And the end was miserable: for they became effeminate, and so put their necks under the Macedonian yolk. m Justin of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amisso, quem amulari consueverant, in segnitie torporeque resoluti, non ut olim in classum exercitusque. sed in dies festos, apparatusque ludorum, reditus publicos*

publicos effundunt: & cum actoribus nobilissimis, poetisque theatra celebrant frequentius scenam, quam castra viscentes. Versificatores Oratoresque meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vtilital publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alibantur, cum urbano populo dividi ceptum est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter oia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea, Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theatre I will say little, as also of the stage: Only that the places in the Theatre were not promiscuous. For there was a distinction between the Senators and younger sort. The Senators were named *ἡ βουλὴ*, among which it is probable the Judges had the first place, as *ο Pollux*. The seats for the youth were called *Εἰσιόδον*. One part of the stage was *Orchestra*, in which was *Βωμὸς*, either a Tribunal or an Altar, that upon all their stages there was an Altar sacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat.* he saies it stood on one side of the stage, before the doors, *Pollux*: who names it *Ἀλμύς*. There was moreover a Table called *Εἰσέδον*, on which before the time of *Thespis* some body ascending in the Poets place, did answer the *Chorus*. *p Plutarch* thinks *Ὀρχήστρον* to be derived from *Ὀρχή*, because that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Musick* only for institution of youth and praise of their Gods, sung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

p Aristoph.

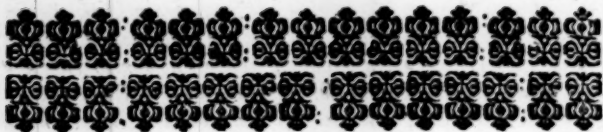
pag 578.

o Lib. 4. c. 19.

p. 202.

p De Musica.

p 442.



LIBER TERTIUS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis, Νέμοι, ἄρχοντες ἔτηροι, ἱερῆται, Περσέδωμοι. De sanciendo Legibus.

^a Lib. 2. p. 27.

^b Arist. Plur.
pag. 67.
^c In Thesco
p. 8. l. 2.

^d Problem.
τμήθ' αφ. κθ.
fol. 189. b.

AS ^a *Justin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation and the *Athenian* government passing by the perpetual and decennial Consuls, and naming only the yearly: so hath he erred in the original of their Laws, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seems otherwise For, as ^b *Gerardus* hath observed, *Thesens* gave Laws to the *Athenians*. And ^c *Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick People*, and constituted a *Democratie*, he reserved only to himself the government of war and custodie of the Laws. Δημοκρατίαν (πρωτεύσαν) αὐτὸς μόνος ἀρχόντι πολέμου καὶ νόμων εὐλαβῶς διατηρεῖν. Add to this, that before the knowledg of letters and writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their Laws, lest they might forget them, used in the daies of ^d *Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rules

rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, and playing, are supposed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the *e Lydian*. *Hypolydian*, &c. *Dorick*, *Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian*, *Hypophrygian*, *Ionick*, &c. songs were distinguished by the Alphabet, yet *f Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, lest they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it οὐκείων τῶν. *g Idem*. Νόμοι *g* Loco citato p. 437.
 ὁποῖον ποιεῖ δὲ Νόμου, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἐκείνῳ περὶ ἑκάστου νόμου ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. The *Greeks*, says *b Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus summi cuique tribuendo*, intimating *visum*, *i* Loco laud.
 which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus we see, that there were Laws of yore; let *k Clem. Alex.* p. 2. 6.
i Justin say, *Nulla civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*. That the City was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Laws. In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Laws, living about the three *h* hundred and ninth *Olympiad* His Acts says *l Elian*, were called *δίκαιοι*. *Εκάλουν δὲ τοὺς νόμους δίκαιοι*. Now *δίκαιοι*, by *m* *Ulpian* is interpreted *νόμος περὶ δικαιοσύνης* *m* Arg. orat. cont. Lepti.
τῶν. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law, And yet *n Aristotile* calls them *νόμοι*, giving them this commendation, *p* 70.
 that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to a *Herodotus* to say, that they were not the Laws of man, *ἀλλὰ δράκοντος*, in a double sense of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And *b Demades* strength. In *So-*
 that they were not written with black, but blood. For he punished every peccadillo almost with death, those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pot-hearbs, alike to the sacrilegious and man slayers. Wherefore they were made of *none* effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murder, intituled *ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ* Him *hist. l. 2. c. 2. 2.*
 succeeded * *Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peers, that he was beloved of *both* *if any spoke against them, he had corporal punishment.*

both having still a care, lest while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, *c* Juvenal styles *Justum*, and for the care of the Republick, which *d* Demosthenes averres he had in all his Lawes, *e* Aristophanes termes φιλόδημος, a lover of the people. *f* Plato brings him learning his Laws from a Barbarian: And *g* Plutarch tells us that he travelled afterwards into Egypt. But it seems by *h* Ammianus Marcellinus, that in the making of his Laws he had the approbation and judgment of the Egyptian Priests. *Et Solon adjutus sententiis Aegypti Sacerdotum, lais juxto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* *i* Diodorus Siculus relates two things brought from thence to the Athenians by him. First, that all the Egyptians were compelled to bring to the Governours of the countries their names written, and by what means they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust gain, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among them, that payment should be made only with the goods of the debtor, and that the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone to be subject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither is it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergo hazard for their country, should for usury be committed to Prison, or the Country be in jeopardy for the avarice of some one man. Which induced Solon to make the first decree, as *k* Laertius, and *l* Plutarch say, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfy the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut off all use, *a* as some write, or else lessened the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his Law Στοιχάδρια: so called from Σην, to shake off, and ἄχθῃ, an heavy weight. Forgiving himself first, *c* as Laertius, seven talents; or, as *d* Plutarch five. But this seems to have been done for the avoiding of the aspersion cast upon him as accessary to the injuries of some, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

c Sat. 10. vers.

274.

d Κατὰ Ἀρχ.

P. 390.

e pag. 190.

f In Timæo.

g In Solone.

p. 66. l. 31.

h Lib. 21.

i Bibliotheca.

k Initio vite
Solonis.

l In Solone

p. 61. l. 8.

a Plut. p. 62.

b Andronic.

c Loco laud.

d Pag. 62.

fifteen sayes

Polyzetus

Rhodijs.

much money with hope of never making restitution: *Cassan-* In Laert.
bon is conceited, that this was not his first exploit, but long af- P. 14.
 ter he had sat at the Stern of the Weale publick. Yet it
 seems probable, There being no more compendious way to
 make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common *peo-*
ple. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Laws; did wil-
 lingly invent; and they afterwards lovingly accepted For in-
 testimony of their approbation, they kept a Festival named
 f *Συναχθῆνα*. Here likewise you may observe the ancient flat- f Plut. 7. 62.
 tery of the *Athenians* towards their own vices, putting gilded l. 43.
 names on those things, which themselves were ashamed
 of, calling g *πόρῆα*, *τραίεα*: *φῆμι*, *συνταξῆς*. *φιλανθῆς* *ἀνὴρ* *καὶ* *πῶλεον*, *δρακοντίων* *οἶκον*, as our blades name drunkenness
 good fellowship; whores, the sinners, and niggardise, thir- g Plutarch.
 tineesse; springing from this root of *Solons*, who called *ῥῆσις* loco laudato.
ἀποσιώω, *Συναχθῆνα*. h To these Laws two ends were h Demosth.
 proposed, mutuall commerce, and direction of behaviour p. 477.
 towards the state. i To curb wickedness, and injustice, and to Idem p. 484.
 punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although
 they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we
 fitly call them the *Athenian Civil Law*. Each City, ask *ῥη-* h Institur. l. 1.
stinian teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. Tit. 2. Sed jus
Nam si quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile quidem civile
Atheniense, non traverit. They were ingraven in Tables ex unaquaque
 of wood, called l. *ἄξονες*, triangular, if we may believe civitate appel-
 m Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, who quotes *Aristotle* and *Apollodorus*, witnessing that they were called *κύρβες* also *ῥῆσις* *τὸ* *ἄ-* Atheniense, m
κροσθῆσαι *ἐς* *ὕψος* *ἀναπυρρῶν*, from the elevation, n Some are Sch. Apollor.
 of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods and their Rho. Arg. 4.
 worship were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Laws belonging m In Avibus
 to men in the *Axons*. *Apollodorus* sayes that all decrees p. 604.
 are called *Cyrbes*, because they were written in stone, and so set a *ῥῆσις* *ἐν* *πῶν*.
 up a which from their standing, were termed *σῆλαι*. b Vide Non-
 that decrees, merits, praise and dispraise too, were written in num in Naz.
 stone, Whence b *ἁρῆς* *συναχθῆναι* may be put for a Treatise
 N tending

tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the dayes of *c Plutarch*, some reliques of them were to be seen. The *Autographon* or copy written with his own hand was not removed, but those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of doubt and controverſie they might have recourse unto them, * For the distinction of which, some think that ἡ πρώτη τῶν νόμων is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me it seems improbable, for then the number of the Table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table sometimes could not contain a Law. For we read in *d Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth Table. I am not averse from the guess of *Petins*, who supposes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of some, who think that ἡ πρώτη is to be understood of the under line. For the Laws being written *βασανιστῶν, converso sive retrogrado litterarum ordine*, saies *e Sylburgius*; which *f Pausanias* explains, ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ ἀριστερῷ, from the right hand to the left, *g* or more significantly, Ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου τοῦ ἑξῆς ὁμογενῆς ἢ ἑτέρου τοῦ δεξιῶν ὡς περὶ τοῦ δεξιῶν δεξιῶν. When the second verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if I shall speak nearest to the word, as husbandmen turn their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ- See those that have written of *di-
VΘEWUX* verse wayes of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned ἡ πρώτη τῶν νόμων. After this manner were the Laws written, and doubtless there was some customes as strong as Laws. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of custome, and the *Athenians* by written statutes, as *h Josephus*, yet surely had their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses νόμος for νόμος — Ἀλλὰ νόμος κρατέει. ^a *Scholias.* νόμος νόμος ἡ πρώτη ἢ ἡγεμονία τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλὰ τὸ νόμος. So did the *b Greeks* divide

^c In Solone
p. 66.

* Pollux. l. 8.
p. 408.

^d Solone p. 63.
l. 37.

^e In Pausaniam
. 426.

^f In Eliacis
p. 174.

^g Eodem lib.
p. 165.

^h Contra Ap-
pionem. Vide
Justinian.
Inst. l. 1. tit. 2.
ⁱ In Avibus
pag. 576.
^a Pag. 577.
^b Vide Justi-
nianum.

divide their Laws into *ῥηγόμεναι καὶ ἀγέμεναι*, written and un-
 written. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus ap-*
 probavit, use. The *c* Interpreter of Sophocles thus, *Νέμειν* *c* In Alacem
ῥηγόμεναι *c* *συμβάμεναι*. *συμβάμεναι* *ῥηγόμεναι* *c* *νόμῳ*. A Law is a writ-
 ten custome, and a custome an unwritten law. Besides these
 there were decrees, which they termed *ἰσοψήφιστα, psephis-*
mata, a word used by *d* Cicero, nothing different, *ἰσοψηφιστῶν* *d* In Orat. pro
ἰσοψηφιστῶν διαφέρουσιν οἱ νόμοι. *e* Demosthenes, who means in ver-
 tue and power. For they differ much. *f* A Law maintains ju- *e* Cont. Lept.
 stice once sound, common for ever. A *Psephisma* follows *p. 296*
 the necessity of the time, it differs in events: it directs not *f* Aristides.
 warlike affairs, but is applyed unto the occasion of arms, and *Tom. 2. p. 30.*
 laws can be abrogated, so decrees changed. And here
 ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater then a law. Of *g* Demosth.
 decrees there were two sorts; *h* *τῆς βουλῆς ἰσοψήφιστα*, such as *h* Demosth.
 the Senate by it self established, which were but of twelve *17* Aes-
 months continuance; to the confirming of which, the people *κρίνεται.*
 not convocated, or their consent required, termed *i* *τῶν*
βουλευμάτων, which *Demosthenes* proves to be *ἰσοψηφιστά.* *Ulpian.*
ἐν ἑταύτῳ Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which
 lasted but a year. *k* Cicero. *Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto,*
Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt. In other decrees
 the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the
 giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a *l* Ulpian loco
 longer time. *l* *τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γινόμενα.*
 And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma*. *Εἰς τὴν*
βουλὴν only gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma* from a
 decree of the peoples confirming, by this observation. *Εἰς τὴν*
δὴμον, in the beginning of a decree, shews it to be *ἰσοψηφιστά*. *m* Ulp. in
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κύριον λαμβάνον. the Senate alwaies sate in consultation *Arg. Orat.*
 about that which was to be enacted, whether any dam- *And. p. 181.*
 mage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law com- *Vide Dem.*
 manding that no decree should go forth without deliberati- *p. 182. n. 10.*
 on. *m* *ἀπὸ βουλευτῶν ἰσοψηφιστά μὴ ἐκείνου ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.* Which *v1. Plut. So-*
 done the *Prytanes* took certain tables and wrote on them *lone. pag. 63.*

Such or such a day about such a time, there should be an assembly to consult of these and these affairs: and this they called a *πρυτανία*. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood, if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raze out a Decree of any Table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniencies to arise by oversight in the Law-giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there should be *ἐπιχειρήματα νόμων*; which *b* Ulpian expounds *διδασκαλίαι, τι δεῖ ποιεῖν μετὰ τὸ νόμον*. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Laws. *c* The manner was thus. Every eleventh day of *July* in the assembly, after the Cryer had made his Prayers, as the fashion was, & shall anon be spoken of, the Laws were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next their weal publick, and thirdly the nine Archons, & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Laws enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-weal, &c. If any of the Laws in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned until the last of the three daies of the three *Convocations*, on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the revising and reciting of the Laws, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chief of the Assembly, were to *d* acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the *Athenians*, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the Judgement of the *Nomotheta*, chosen out of the Council of five hundred, was the business carried, that the Laws should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever would bring in a new Law, was to write it on a Table *ἐν τῇ λεύκαμᾳ*, *Demosth.* the form thereof, and set it up at the Statutes of the *Heroes* before spoken of, *ἑστῶσαν ἐν ἱερῶν*, which

a Sch in
N^oz. cna d.
pag. 55. v. d.
Ulp. in Dem.
p. 242.

b Demosth.
pag. 445.
c Vid. Dem.
loca cit.

d *ἐπιχειρήματα*
Demosth.
Ulp. expounds
καταβάλλειν.
to report.

e Cont. Ti.
noct. p. 446.
f Demosth.
p. 297.

which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certain daies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; & if any so pleased, he might at the proposall of the Law, declare his mind either for or against it, as at the preferring of a *Bill in our high Court of Parliament*, where it is not denyed any *Burges*, or *Knight* of a Shire, to speak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill, or some part thereof, or in opposition to it or some one clause. Provided likewise that he who attempted to enact a new Statute, should take care for the disanulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwise he came within the compass of *παράνομις γένεσις*, a writ of *Transgression of the Laws*: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them, a *ῥήγμα ἢ ἀνέκωκτον γένεσις*. Next when one is made thats adverse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perfwaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale publick, he might be questioned within a *b* years space; *c* but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay they slew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiaethenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom he that would propose a Law should do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requests pleased not, he straight way powred out his soul under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators which are called *e* *δημαγωγοί*, because they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Laws and decrees, as we learn out of *Demosthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by *g* *Αθηναίων, οἱ λόγοντες καὶ τὰ ψήφισματα γράψαντες*.

C A P. II.

De Comititiis. Κουρία & Συγκλητικὴ Εὐκλεισία, &c

THE Assemblies were called by the *Prytanes* four times in five and thirty dayes. *f* In the first they conferred

a Vir. in Dem
p. 297. *b* Dem
Orat Arg. con.
Lep.
c Dem. p. 419
d Id. p. 468.
e Gellius l. 2.
c. 13 If Cal-
listratus Athe-
nis Orator fuit;
quos illi
δημαγωγοί
appellant. Liv. 4.
Dec. 4. of Athens
ubi Oratio plu-
rimum pollet
favore multitu-
dinis alitur.
Ulpian
δημαγωγοί
δημαγωγοί
f Pag. 468.
n. 225.
g Dipsos. l. 12.

f Pollux. l. 8.
c. 9. Sec. 7.
pag. 398.

med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out. They heard publick causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speak of private and publick affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadors, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, such as belonged to their Gods & worship of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*, the second the twentieth, the third the thirtieth, the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the *g* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the daies on which they came together, one making the first day of the Month to be the day on which the first Assembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which seems truest. And whereas they both write that every Month there were three lawful assemblies, to wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth, or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth we are not so to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They seem to have been called *Kvetai* *Εκκλησίαι*, because in them they did *κρῖναι* *ἑνὸς* *ἡμῶν*, establish decrees, as the *a* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termed *b* *πύγκλητοι* when war, or any sudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over & above those four times in a *Prytanea*. They are styled *πύγκλητοι*, because the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation some went about the City and called them. There is likewise *c* *κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*, when they were summoned out of the fields to go to the Assembly. It seems to me that the Crier in the streets on their lawful assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much *d* *Aristophanes* witnesses, bringing in the women speaking that it is high time to be stirring, because the Crier *ἔδ' ἔπειτα* *καὶ* *ἐκείνους*, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning

g In Achar.
pag. 371.
b In Dem. p.
445.

a In Acharn.
b Ulp. & Sch.
Arist. loc.
laud.

c Pol. p. 405.

d In concionantib. pag.
725.

warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in coming to Assemblies, that the *Logista* were fain to throw them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristophanes* on these words, *Τὸς δ' ἱμαστας ἐκ Λιπῶν*. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they sent two slaves into the market place, who should one on the one side of the way & the other of the opposite, pursue the people, and to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain piece of money. Hence in the *Comcedian* — *Κάτω ἐκ κάτω τὸ χρυσὸν φέρουσι τὴν μαυλωμένην*. Up and down they shun the cord stained with Vermilion. And again — *ἡ μίλατ' ὃ Ζεὺς οἶλ' αὖτις γέλασεν παρὶ γαίης ἢ προσέβηκεν κύκλῳ*. *Jupiter*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. *g* Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the streets except those that led to the *Ecclesia*: Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the Market, lest people intent on their traffique should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met oft-times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called *ἡ Διουμένη*: *i* and earthquakes, or other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting, until the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called *ἡ Εἰσπρία*, because they were done at the entry of the Council, *b* *Ulpian*. *προηγύετο δ' εἰσπρία ἡ ἑλκής ὁ παρ' ὀφθαλμοῦ*. *Ib* Vide & *Ulpian*. will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was sate, and yet I may presume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *c* *Aristophanes* witnessing that immediatly preceding the Sessions this custome was observed by one, whom they named *ἡ εἰσπρία*, from *εἰσπρία*, τὴν καθάρσεια, which signifies cleansing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theatre, and congress of the people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, *e* and cursed those who should offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he speaks with a low voice

e In Achar.
p. 406.

f Aristoph.
Achar. p. 371.

g Schol. Arist.
loco laudato.

b Vide Arist.
p. 379.

i Plut. p. 386.
1.7. & 384.1.34.

a Demosth.
p. 241.

b Ulpian. *προηγύετο δ' εἰσπρία ἡ ἑλκής ὁ παρ' ὀφθαλμοῦ*. *Ib* Vide & *Ulpian*. p. 351.

c In Concion.
p. 728. A.

d Demosth.
p. 23.

e *Id.* p. 413.

f Alcidas
Aristoph. p.
372. Diod.
Sic. l. 15.
g Demosth.
p. 29. Eschi-
nes contra
Cres. initio.
h Philip. 1.

voice *ἡ δὲ ἀρχαία ἐκείνη*; Who will make a speech; where-
upon one of the *g* Elders arose that gave his verdict, It being
not permitted, to any to utter his opinion, before the reve-
rend hoary head had spent his judgment. Whence by *h* De-
mosthenes they are stiled *ἐκαστοί*, those that were wont to
orate. After they had finished their saying, others had leave
to declare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashion they
had to exclude all private men from their Assemblies, some-
times when the Senate alone sate, for the *Areopagistical* coun-
sel; sometimes to debar all servants, strangers, and men de-
prived of their liberties from their convents, which at other
times they admitted, and then was it called *ἡ ἀνοικιστος συνέ-
δρις* *ἢ θέατρον*, an open Theatre to all commers. The place of
meeting was called *Πρυτανεία*, *πρυτανεία*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανῆος ἀρχαίου ἐκ αὐτῆς*,
frō the frequent concourse of people there. It stood on a rock
and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called *ἡ πέτρα*. 345. Sch. *ὅθεν*
ἔβλεπτο. There was a stipend for them that came to the Assem-
blies, as you may see in *Demosth. Contra Timoc.* And *αἰεὶς*
βολατὴν ἀπὸ δόκου. Because they might be at leasure with-
out dammage. *Arist. Pol. l. c. 13.* They assembled also in
Pyram, *Ulp*, in *Dem.*

i Plut. p. 552
L. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

*De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de
Senatu Περικλειῶν.*

When the mutiny between the Faction of *Megacles*
and *Cyle* disturbed the *Attick* Commonwealth,
Solon perswaded the people that those, whom for their au-
dacity in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars, they
named *εὐαγῆς*, should undergoe judgement, there were cho-
sen & three hundred men *ἀεὶς ἐκαστος*, according to their worth
to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetual judicato-
ry. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the
usury

k Plut. Solone
pag. 60. l. 31.

usury money, then was the grand Council ordained; out of every Tribe, which were then but four, an hundred chosen; who by their advice should direct the people in those things which were to be handled, lest any thing should be inducted, or proposed to the Assembly without due consideration. Who from their office in a Democracy *m* Aristotle sayes, are more properly called *οὐβουλοι*, but where the Root rules, *Βουλῆ*. But when *Clisthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed *ὁ κατὰ συνθήκας πλὴν πολιτίαν*, had augmented the number of the Tribes from four to ten, eighty six years after *Solon's* Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times, make up the summe. This Council by *Aristotle* is described *ἡ καλίστη κουλία πάντων*. *The Mistrers of all the rest*, and I am not of opinion that *ἡ ἀρχὴ Βουλῆ* in a *Plutarch* is to be understood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were about the Senate, but as instituted first by *Solon*, and so related by the Author. And yet I know *b* one writes *Tam dignitate, fama, quam officio, secundum post Areopagitas locum obtinere*. To this Council none was chosen under thirty years of age, which time is stiled *Βουλῆτικὴ ἡλικία* by *c Libanius*. And doubtless *d Plutarch* justifies it, speaking that *Demosthenes* wrote his Oration against *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, *Aristocrates*, *ὅτι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀποστῆλυθας*, when he had not attained to the managing of state business, because he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is *e Junius*, who sayes that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very Wise to Magistracy or Council. Nay the *f* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* tells us, that green heads were not permitted to speak publicly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as some say (which is truest) thirty, on these words.

Καὶ γὰρ παρδόντες ὅδ' ἐτ' ἑλῶ, καὶ ἐξὼν πρὸς μοι πενήν.

Which to be otherwise understood by some, is not hidden from me. They were called likewise *ἡλιαστοί*, 'as well as *Περ- g* Ulp. in Dem. *υμνοῦσι*, and their Tribunal *ἡλιαία*, from the word *ἡλιαίζω*, *f* In nub. p. 445.

O

which

m Polit. 1.6.c.3

a In Seion. p. 63.

b Posbardus: false, for Pausanias calls it *αρχισυν*.

c In Arg orat. cont. Androt.

d Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

e Stobæus serm. 112.

f In nub. p. 157.

g Ulp. in Dem. p. 445.

h Ulp. loc. lau-
dato, vide &
Aristoph. Sc.
pag. 436.
i Pag. 486.

4 Dem. Orat.
cont. Tim.

which signifies to throng together, because the people were frequent there. But the more probable reason is, *h en tē v-
pewōn tō tō tōn xj tō hāion ēnē ēstōn epōstallēn*, because the
place was open and exposed to the Sun. And in respect of this
i Aristophanes makes that cold conceit branded by Didymus,
Εἰα κατ' ὄρθρον ἡλιασεν ποτὶς ἡμῶν. In the morning thou shalt
ἡλιασεν in the Sun-shine. At their admission they had this
Oath given them. *καὶ ἐντιμῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων, &c.* I will give
Sentence according to the Laws and Decrees of the People of A-
thens, and Council of five hundred, I will not consent to be a
Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchy: Neither shall my approbation
be to any that shall dissolve the Democracy of Athens by speech or
Decree. I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the
Athenian Land or Houses. I will not bring back exil'd Men, or
those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any
innocent against the Laws and Statutes of the Athenians and
Senate of five hundred: neither by my self, or suffer any other. I
will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of
his former Office, whether of the nine Archons, or Agents for the
holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine
Archons by lot, Ambassadors and Assistants. Neither shall the
same Man bear the same Office twice, or two in one Year. I will
not take Gifts for Judgment, neither my self or others for me, or
others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then
thirty. I will hear both Parties, the Accuser and Defendant alike.
I will pass Judgment aright on the thing prosecuted. I swear
by Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is also another Oath
which they took; some Clauses whereof, we have left in Re-
cord. To ratifie the Laws of Solon. Plutarch in Solone, pag.
62. To give Counsel for the best of the People. To advise accor-
ding to the Laws. I will not binde any Athenian who shall give
three sureties of the same Revenues, unless for Treason, or be con-
spire the subversion of State popular, or buy Customs, or be en-
gaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will sit in that
order which los shall direct me to, I will not permit any unless ban-
nished

* If I transgress
any of these, let
me and my
house perish; but
if I faithfully
keep them accor-
ding to my oath,
let us be happy
and prosperous.
Dem. p. 470.

misord, to be accus'd or imprisoned for what is past. This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when a *Thrasylus* gave them to Oath *μη μνησθαι αὐτίκην*, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call *ἀμνηστίας*. The Authority of this Council was great, for it handled causes of War, Tributes, making of Laws, civil businesses & events, affairs of Confederates, collections of Money, performance of sacred Rites, accounts of Offices discharged, appointing Keepers for Prisoners, and *ἐπιμελεία* of Orphans, as *Xenophon*. b Resembling our Court of Parliament in England, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right and possessions of private men changed, forms of Religion established, Subsidies, Tails, Taxes, and impositions appointed, Weights & Measures altered &c. As not unlike also the Venetian *Gran Consiglio*, or Senate of which the *Contarene*. d *Tutta la cura del Governo della Republica appartiene al Senato*, &c. The whole manner of the Common wealths Government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority & Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Common wealth at their appointment collected & gathered in, and likewise lay'd out again and defrayed, &c. In a word I may say of the Five hundred, as *Budeus* of the Parliament of France: *Amplissimam eam curiam consularumque omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court is most ample, and justly, and equally defined all sorts of Controversies whatsoever. b To their charge was committed the making of new Ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes *Aristophanes*. c *Αὐτὸς ὁ δὲ λαὸς τὸ ἔτος ἐοικέναι αἰ ὀργάνῳ καὶ αἰ Μῦρ' ἡλᾶσται.* d without their consent could the people do naught, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* against the Peoples wills. Hence in *Demosthenes*, *ἡ Βουλὴ τοῖς ἀντιπάλαισι ἐστὶν ἐκείνη.* In testimony of their preheminance are they termed *ἐκείνη* and *οἱ ἀνὴρ κρείττους*. The Lords of Sentence In *Medis*.

b Plut. in Ci-
mone. p. 356.
l. 50.

i Verbo Em-
mius in De-
script. Reip.
Athen.

k Contaren.
l. 1. fol. 11. b.

time of Warr they would send Commissions to their Cap-
tains, as they thought requisite. b Such as in the battle be-
tween the *Lacedemonians* and their Country men in *Tana-
gra*, where fearing lest *Cimon*, banished by *Ostracisme*, should
betray them to the *Laconians*, they sent to the Commanders
not to entertain him in the Army. This honour was not
during term of life, but every year changed. *Apostolius*.
ἡ μὲν τῆς πενταετίας καθ' ἑκάστη ἐνιαυτὸν ἀληθεύειν εὐλόγειν.
Which *Anonymus* in *Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expresses by
καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν διαδέχεται The manner of choosing them is this
i The chief of every Tribe on an appointed day before the
beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, brought the names
of all their Tribe that was capable of this dignitie, and cast
them written into a vessel, and into another they put an hun-
dred white beans, and all the rest black; Then drawing
out a Name, and then a Bean, to whose chance the white
Bean fell to be extracted with his Name, was designed Sena-
tor. This they did when they had but four Tribes, and to
four hundred Senators. But when they had tenn Tribes,
there could be but fifty white Beans, to the making up of
the tenth part of the hundred. This differs not from the ele-
ction observed by the k *Venetians* upon the fourth day of
Decemb. when the names of all the young men that have not
by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor passed 25 years
old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince, and there
the same set before the Counciliors, with which there is
an other pot, wherein are round balls equall with the num-
ber of the names written with the first, every one having his
marks: the fift part of these balls is gilded with gold, the rest
with silver. The Prince taketh out of the first pot the ball,
which if it be of the golden sort, the young man whose name
is drawn is presently admitted to publick authority; they
to whom the silver chance, lose it for that time, expecting it
the ensuing year, unless in the mean space they accomplish
twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake
of

of the Cities liberties. So every year the fifth part of the young-
sters is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use
in choosing I deem the same, and shall untill I find authentick
Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by
Clisthenes according to their Tribes, so by his successors. For
when they added two, the number was encreased an hun-
dred, by reason of the Tribes *Antigonis & Demetrias*. after na-
med. *Attalus & Ptolemais* in honour to the Kings of that name
which were Benefactors to the State, *αἰδων* *ὃ* *βουλὴν παλαιο-* *a* *Stephanus*
κοσίων ἔσαν, ἡλικιωτῶν ἐποίησαν, b Out of these were their Jud- *περὶ πάλ-*
ges chosen; but such as were above threescore years old, For *b* *Arist. Sch.*
although Juniors were admitted into this company, yet none *P. 37.*
judged under that age. *ἐπὶ τῷ ἡλικίῳ μὲν εἰς ἑκαταετίας ἔχοντες*
καὶ ὅν. To these was any business referred, of which the
Senate and people were in suspense what to determine *c* *A-* *c* *In Vespil.*
ristoph. *Εἰρὶ δ' ἡ βουλὴ χ' ὃ δ' ἡμῶν ὅταν κριταί μετὰ πλεονέκῃ,* *ἐπὶ τῷ* *p* *471.*
ἢ ἐφ' ἡμέτερον τοῦ ἀδικούντος τοῦ δικαστοῦ παρορῶνται. When
the Council & People are in doubt how to judge a great mat-
ter, they decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And
no marvel. For the office of a Judge is *κρίνειν κρίνειν*, preroga-
tive in sentence, saies *d* *Aristotle*, that is, to state those Que- *d* *Pol. l. 3. c. 13*
stions which the Law hath not decided. The other of their *ἑστὶ δ' ἐνέμους*
giving sentence before the third year of the ninety second O- *ἀδυνατοῦ*
lympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turn in their *δ' ἰστέλλεν.*
own Tribes, every one as his lot fell For there being former-
ly ten Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, &
to which one of the chance happened, he sate Judge. I
cannot say that the manner of Election was like that of the
e *Syracusans* concerning the priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the *e* *Cic in Ver-*
names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into *rem. Act. 3.*
a pot, created him whose name should be first drawn, of that *f* *Aristoph.*
sacred Function. But of our own must I speak. *f* *σλ. p. 30.*
When then
they were appointed, they met every of them bringing with
him a Table and a Wand, on which was written a Letter that
did betoken some Judicatory (For there being ten Tribunals

every one of them was noted with a red Letter, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, &c. to κ, over the door) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom A, was taken out, sat in the Court noted with A, and B with B, and so to K. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Prætor* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did lest any should rashly attempt to sit, & pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or staff: because that *g* Βακτηρία ἢ σχῆμα ἢ τριβάλλον ἢ τριώβολον, was a Proverb used in derision of the Judges. *b* This staff at the dayes end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages. But the *a* Scholiast teaches us otherwayes, saying, that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* words the Orator, Ὁ γένηςται ἡλιασταὶ, φερόμενος τριώβλου, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ βόσκων *Judges which I feed*. Their pay was not alwaies the same, *ex* ἰσταν, *b* saies the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First, they had *obolum*, which *Calistratus*, furnished *Parnyses*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb εὐβολὸν εὐδρες Πάρνυτι. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word ὑπὲρ τὰ καλλικράτους, it may be for a pretty summe of money. Nay it changed, for now I read of ὀβολὸς ἡλιαστῆς one, and anon τριώβολον, *a* *e* Drac hm to two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes less. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their cases of Law, in which I shall add.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custom to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which it was written, *f* Κατηγόρω σέδε καὶ παρακαλῶμαι τὴν δὲ τὸ δέωθ' εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate before the accusation, to which *g* *Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt.*— when this note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had

witnesses

g Suidas pro
verb.
b Sch. Arist.
ἐλ. 30.
a In Equites.
pag. 301.

b In Nubes
Pag 174.

c Appendix
Vaticana.
d Zenobius.

e Sch. Arist.
pag 487.

f Vlp. in
Dem. p. 343.

g Aflinaria
Act 1. p. 54.

witnesses and would prosecute the matter, who answering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to summon the Defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himself or other, called therefore *καυτήρ* for *καυτός* is *ἡ ἐς τοῦς δῖς*. ^{b Sch. Arist.}
καὺς ἐστὶν ὁ καυτήρ, a bringing into suit, *καυτῶν τε γὰρ οἱ ἐς διαγνώσκειν*. The ^{190.}
word signifies a witness also. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they bad any that stood by to testify that they had admonished them, *ἡ Καυτήρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ διαγνώσειον* ^{i Sch. Arist.}
παύτας συναινεῖν ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μαρτυρεῖν. You may use *καυτήρ* for ^{p 442.}
an Apparator, Sergeant, Bayliff, or the like. Sometimes they would run streight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *Demosthenes* his phrase, sometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may see out of *Aristophanes*. *καὶ δ' ἄλλων αὐτὴν* — But if the party could put in two *ἄξιόχρεως*, sufficient to Bail, he was dismissed. Hence in the *m* Comædian. *ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὴς σοὶ κατὰ σὺν* ^{i In Vespis}
σὺ δὲ Ἀξιόχρεως. I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties. ^{p 487.}
Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in juu*, at which time if the Defendant were not personally at the Judgment-seat, he came wltin compass of *Εχέμης*, a *Writ of Eremodicium*, refusal to come in and answer. Which was avoided by suing for a *μὴ δῶτα* in tenne dayes after. For when the party to defend was absent, he was condemned *indistâ causâ*, so *Budeus* expounds *ἐξ ἐρήμης κατὰ δίκην αὐτοῦ*, by this ^{a In prioris & Post. No. ad Pand.}
therefore the case was renewed and stood as at the first, the sentence that before past, being made of no force; and for this ^{b Ulp. in Dem.}
was it termed *μὴ δῶτα*, *ὅτιν ἀρχῆθεν δικάζον ἐν ἡμῶν δῶτα ὕστερον οἱς τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ*, because in the beginning it seemed to carry some power, but at last was nothing. The business then made a new, the party that was cast by an *ἐρήμην*, after that he had obtained a *μὴ δῶτα*, was ^{c Pollux: l. 8.}
within two Months to set the Law on foot, which they term *ἀντίλαβον δίκην*, or else the ^{p: 390.}
sentence given before was ratified. Whosoever should offer to call any man to the Court, unless upon good grounds, was liable

d You have a
form of this in
Demosth. p.
628.
e Arist. Nub. p.
354. v. Sch.
f Demosth.
p. 716. n. 7.

g Arist. Schol.
ver. 170.

h Unum con-
tra Stephan.
J. d. a. p.
622. aliud p.
624. 629.
i Schol. Arist.
Vesp. 505.
k In Vesp. p.
467. 505.
l In Vesp. p.
504.
m Schol. Arist.
p. 239.
n Idem p. 195.
o Demosth.
622. n. 33.
629. n. 87.
640. n. 22.
655. n. 65.
663. n. 66.
p Charact.
σελ. α. περὶ ο.
pag. 21.

liable to *ἡ δολαντεία δική*, a Writ of Molestation for a false cause. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libel, which held contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendants answer. This the Greeks call *ἀντιγραφὴν*, *Antigraphen*. Though I know also, that all cases in Law were termed *ἐπερυματα, κόντιγεται*. They took this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in Athens for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is *συκοφαντία*, they made a *Law*, that whosoever accused, and had not the fifth part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objection was also punished in the purse a certain summe; g which if he paid not at the constituted time, was fourfold; and if his ability reached not so far, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphē*, testimonies were also delivered (formes of which you shall often meet with in *h Demosthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in these words, *τάληδ' ἢ καταρρήσειν*, that he would justly accuse. *τάληδ' ἢ ἀλογήσουσιν*, that he would according to Truth make his Apology: and this they name *καὶ πομοσίας*. These writings were cast into a certain coffer, forth coming as occasion should require: All which *l Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. *Ἀντιμοσίας ἔ' προτάλῃσι καὶ μαρτυρίας συσκευάσαν*. They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & testimonies. I so interpret it against the Scholiasts mind, who will have *προτάλῃσι* to be Exhortations given to the Plaintiff and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that *m περὶ α. λήδω*, is *καταρρῆν, εἰσαλκιν*, to accuse, *εἰς δικασίον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ περὶ, n* and *περικλήσιν*, *διὰ μαρτύρων ἀπεχρήσιν*. The chest or coffer was called *ἰχθύν*; and of this are the words of the Greek Orators to be understood *οἱ εἰς ἰχθύν βάνον*. *p Theophrastus* of a mad man that would entangle himself in anything *ἰχθύν ἐν τῷ προκλήπῃ, καὶ ὄρμαθός γεγαυρηθῇ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν*. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* make a different exposition of this oath from that

that which other Grammarians do, confounding, as is most probable, the *ᾠρωσία* & *ᾠρωσία*, with *ᾠρωσία*. For *ᾠρωσία* is that first Oath which the Plaintiff gave to prosecute the party prosecuted to answer, which on the Defendants side was called *ᾠρωσία*, and generally on both *ᾠρωσία* was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did *ᾠρωσία* follow the Delinquent in Law; the Defendant *ᾠρωσία* to stand stify to it that he did not trespass. And yet *Ulpian* makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another, admitted to the Judiciary, it being first demanded of the suiter *c* whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, and had sufficient witness for evidence; in causes capital it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be present. This Interrogation was termed *d* *Ἀνάκρισις*. If then any thing was deficient, the Judgment was prorogued by an *e* *ᾠρωσία* or oath, which the Plaintiff took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. *f* Perhaps for that time pretending sickness, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend when then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges first swearing *g* that they would give sentence according to the Laws, and in those things concerning which there were no Laws, according to conscience and equity (which the Greeks call *ᾠρωσία*) *h* and of those things only concerning which they did debate. This Oath seems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones (of these by *land* by) with which they gave sentence. *i* *Plutarch* *ᾠρωσία* *ᾠρωσία* *ᾠρωσία*. The Oath is called *ᾠρωσία*. Then went the Judges to their seat *k* neatly spread with mats, in Greek *ᾠρωσία*, and *ᾠρωσία*, and all others being warned by the *Prætor*, to go without the bars in this form *ᾠρωσία* they sat down; for we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the *Romanes*, with lattice I suppose, by them called

a Schol. Arist.*Vesp.* 50.*b* In Demosth.*p.* 287.*c* Vide Ulpianin Dem *p.* 347.*341.**d* Bud. in An-

not. Rel. ad

Pan. *p.* 341.*e* Ulpian inDem. *p.* 226.*f* the Schol. of

Aristoph.

g Makes it the

same with

ᾠρωσία.*h* *Or.* *p.* 75.*i* Ulpian, inDemosth. *341.**j* Pollux. *l.* 8.*k* *p.* 406.*h* Demosth.*p.* 628.*i* *Pag.* 122.*j* *Aristoph.*Sch. *p.* 239.*k* Demosth.

m Pollux. l. 8.
p. 407.

n Pollux loco
citato.

o This is
ἀντιφώνημα.
Pollux.

p Pag. 485.

a Plutarch. in
Vita.

b Aristoph pag.
494.

c Aristoph.
Schol. l. bid.

d αὐτὸ παρ-
ταύτην.

e Boemus De
Coffhumi del
le Genti lib.
1. cap. 5.

* Arist. Rhet.
l. 1. c. 33.

f Sciron: l. pag.
to 126.

g In Bruto.

called *καγκελωτά* Cancellata by the Greeks *κηχλίστη* though *κηχλίσ* more properly signifies the door of the *δίκη* *συνελεύσεως* before which was a rope of 50 feet in length drawn, & publick servants set, that none might enter, but who had business. The partition I think was but weak, and therefore by *Demosthenes* called *ἀδυνάτη κηχλίσ*. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when a *Demosthenes* did long to hear *Gallistratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pedagogue* that he would bring him where he might have the happiness to be an Auditor. The *Pedagogue* therefore acquainted with the publick Officers that opened the doors, *τοὺ ἀνείχοντες τὴ δικάστηα* *συνουσίᾳ* procured him a place where he might hear and not be seen, *ἐν ᾗ καθύπερθε ἀδίκων ἀκούσῃ*. When the Judges had gone within the Barres, lest any should be wanting, the *Proco* cried *β Εἰ τις δύνειται ἡ ἰσχυρὴ εἶναι*, if any Judge be without the door of the place of Judgment, let him enter. c Because if any came after the Case began to be pleaded, he could not have admission. Being then seated, the Crier read the Inditement, *ἐγκλημα* (a copy of some part of which you have in *Demosth* *ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΙΤΑΟΣ ΕΙΗΕΟΥ-ΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ*, &c. (in which, according to the custome of the old *Egyptians*; were given up to the Court in writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received and the manner of it, with an estimation of the damage; The several heads of which the Judges wrote down, lest the Imp-leader and Defendant should swerve from what they had in hand. Then stood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunal, and spake an accusatory Oration, made for the most part by some of the *Attick* Oratours: which use brought in by * *Antiphon* the *Rhamnusian*, f *Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls *δικανικὸς λόγος* *ἐν δίκῃ γινώσκων*. g *Cicero*, scribere aliis causas: quibus in judiciis uterentur, such as *Lysias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which lest it should exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a vessel,

in

in the bottome of which was a small hole for water to run
as sand doth in our hour-glasses, thence called *κλέψυρ*
into which was poured an equall measure of water; and least
there should be deceit there was an officer made for that
purpose named *ἡ Εὐδωρ*, ὁ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἰσομετρίαν καὶ κλέ-
ψυρην filling alike for the impleader and answerer *i* when
therefore the glass was runn, it was not lawful for them to
speak farther. *k* nay for scantness of time they were compel-
led to pass by many things; and for that reason were they
chary of their water, bidding that it should be stopped at the
reciting of Laws or the like, which *Demosthenes* intimates
in *Σὺ δ' ἐπιλαβὲς τὸ ὕδωρ* as *ἦν αὐτὸ καταμειναι* is to stop the nose
in *l* *Aristophanes*. *m* *Apuleius*. *At tu interim dum legit, a-*
quam sustine. *Pancirollus* *Ne si aqua interim effluxisset, am-*
plius sibi dicendi prohibita foret facultas, least he might not have
leave to speak any more, if the water were spent if any
would give way to another to speak while this glass was
running he might which *Dem.* testifies, *ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ ὕδατι λαλεῖτω*
But if he would not permit it; he bid the *Prætor* cast it forth
a' δ' ἔβαλε τὸ ὕδωρ. *Ulpian.* *Τυτίδῃ ἐκκαλεῖ*, From which kind of
pleading it grew into a proverb *b* *ὥς τὴν κλέψυρην.* *c* *Cicero* *a* *Demosth.*
ad clesydram, to speak by the hour or allotted time. His
speech being ended he fate down. *d* The defendant then
sitting all that while over against him, until he had finished,
after addressed himself to his answer which he made from
the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, and
station for this reason saies *e* *Aristotle*, because they would
make both parties equal. For the Suiter having the better
part, they gave the upper part to the defendant. Or because
οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦν or defendants, were for the most part in custody;
If therefore the guard stood on the right hand, the defendant
stood there also; Thence then he pleaded for himself in
which plea he was only to wipe out those accusations which
his adversary laid against him, *f* *μόρεν καταγορηθέντων λύσιν* *Ulpian* in
ποῖον, and in that had the plaintiff a prerogative for he might *P.* 252.

g Loco laudato.

h Demosth 219

i Clemens
Alexand.

These had cer-
tain pettifoggers
under them, that
administred the
Laws and forms
of action. Cicero
apud Græcos
infimi homines
mercedula ad-
ducti ministros
se præbent in
judicijs Ora-
toribus iis, qui
apud illos

παραμαρτυροί
vocantur.

k Corneliana

Vide ad At-
ticum. l. 1. c. 13.

l Vide Laetii-
um in vita ejus.

object what he would; nay and as *g Aristotle*, forecast all be-
fore he commenced his suit. And feigned to himself what he
pleased; the defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant
to clear himself, *h* either by witness, or probabilities, of
all doubts whatsoever the plaintiff could cast in. Sometimes
the Plaintiff and Defendant would desire advocates of the
Judges Συνήγοροι, hence *i* ἐνὶ κλισίᾳ συνεγχεῖν to plead for a
fee. In the time of their Pleading witnesses were called,
who came in and gave their testimonies; and after they had
uttered what they had to say; they went to the Altar (as it
seems to me either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and
swore *k* Cicero. *Athenis aium cum quidam apud eos sanctè*
graviterque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè & ut mos
Græcorum est: jurandi causâ ad aras accederet, unâ voce omnes
judices, ne iuraret, reclamasse. They report that in Athens
when a certain man (*l* Xenocrates) who had lived Godly and
gravely among them, had given witness, and as the fashion
of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all
the Judges with one voice cryed that he should not. (They
would not it seems, have belief rather be bound with re-
ligion then truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a
friend of his desiring him μαρτυρεῖν ἴσους to testifie a lie;
which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend;
quoth he, to the Altar, that is as farr as conscience, religi-
on and honesty shall permit; hence ἀρεὶ βωμᾷ εἰλᾷ & ἰδὺςque
ad *Aras*, grew I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apophth p.*
122. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I
cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were
wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reason to me un-
known; called λοβοὶ from λαμβάνω, *Etymologicon*; (But I
rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the
Plaintiff was wont to pluck his witness by the eare, for re-
membrance sake. *Horace lib. 1. Sat. 9. Licet attestari? ego vi-
ro oppono auriculam.*— To which *Virgil* looked, saying *Cyn-
thius aurem velles & admonuit. Eclog. 6.*) and at the end
thereof

thereof with all destruction to themselves and house if they dealt falsely. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ *ἰδομαρτυριῶν*, of false witness and he that suborned them *ἐκκατεχυσίν*. Sometimes the witness was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear say, which the Greek Lawyers term *ἐκκατ*, as *ἐκκατὴ τῆς ἀδοκίμου* in Demosth. when they take it from those that are dead which went for current and was allowable: But to bring a testimony from the mouth of one that was alive and within the Territories of Athens, It would not pass. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City, *ἀτιμοί*; or servants, or any man in his own cause. a The manner of witness was twofold, either by personal appearance and testifying *αὐτοπροσώπως* and then he was called *μάρτυς*, in no case liable to the Law, *ἰσθίμενος*: or else by writing, by which he offered himself to his questions or attachments in law, against whom he witnessed, if he were not true; and this is *μαρτυρία*. Both parties being heard and the altercation ceased the *Prætor* cried, *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right* (so they interpret *ἀδικῶν jus violare*) *let him cast in the black stone, or hollow, to whom he seemeth not, the whole or white.* For we must know that anciently the Greeks gave their sentences with black and white pebbles, called *ῥαίσιρα* (which the French semblably term *Porcellanes* *ραῖσιρα* *porcena*) Ovid

Demosth. p. 619. 634.

a Ulpian in Demosth. 138.

b Aristoph. 438 c Metamorph. 15. F. 1.

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque Lapillis:

Hic damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ.

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemn the accused: Pertinent to which is the saying of Alcibiades, when he was called out of Sicily to go home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to go thither whence he was never like to escape; when one asked *ἀπικεύεις τῷ πατρίδι* *ἢ πρὸς οὐχέστιν*; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy Judge? *ἢ τῇ τῷ πατρίδι* Plut Mor. p. 140 quoth he *οὐδὲν ἔστι μὴ ἀγνοῖσθαι ἢ σφαλῆσαι τὸ ἀληθές*, *ἢ μολῶναι ἐμὲ ἀλλ' ἂν ἰ ληνῶς ἱππὸν*. No not her that brought

d Ælian, Var. lib. 13. c. 38.

Plut Mor. p. 140

me forth. For I fear least she being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth mistake the black for the white stone. The black made *tristem sententiam*, and was so named, the sad sentence; the white *candidam* or acquitting. They used likewise black and white beans; in respect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have spoken as a Riddle *καὶ μὴ ἐσθίουσιν* not to eat beans, by, *e Nonnus* interpreted *μὴ πρὸς δόλῳ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποστρέψαι χρῆμασιν*. Not to undermine justice with bribes, or that men should get by the perverting of equity. I see no reason, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too forward in getting places of Judgment. For *φυσιοτροφῆ* in *Aristoph.* is by the Scholiast expounded *δίκαστις*, and *φυσιμυς* *πρωτων* is used for a judge, which properly signifies an eater of beans. But afterwards they had little pellets of Brass; The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, *β πρυμνῆται*: the saving were whole, *α τρυμνῆται*. Of these every one took, of each one from the Altar, as I have said, i where laying their hands upon the *Ψίφισ*, or balls, they intimated by a transposition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently and truly judge. When then they were readie to pass sentence at the *Præco* carried about the *Κάδος* or *Καδίσκος*, a certain pitcher (for so *b Xenophon* calls it, *ὀδείας*) having on the mouth of it a conveyance like a Tunnel, named *κημὸς* but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoyding of deceit. I suppose, least one man might cast in more; & therefore were they to touch the *Ψίφισ* only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c Aristoph.* *Τὴς πρὸς λαμπρῶν ἐστὶ δακτύλου, ἐνίσταται*. But we must know that the black and white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of Brass called *πρωτῆ* whether because the first threw into it their voices, or because it may signifie the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being
woodden

r In Naz.
Stelit. 17.

f Pagina 290.
g Lystrata.
P. 870.

b Pollux. l. 8.
p. 407.
Ulpian in
Dem. 470.
Ulpian in
Dem. p. 162.

a Aristoph.
585.
b Pag. 263.

e Pag. 439.
vid. Schol.
d Aristoph.
Vespis 502.

wooden $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$. After the Crier had gone round with both, because some would keep their balls, and for favour not give their voice against a friend or great person, therefore he cried $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, who hath not cast in his ball? Let ϵ Aristoph: him rise. So he rose and threw it in. Then they took them Vespis. out and numbred them, and in matter of Lands, money, or the like, whose vessel (for there were as many set, as the number of the litigants came to) had most, got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magistrate stood by with a Rod, and laid it over those that were told, lest they should mistake the one for the other, or wittingly do it. For so were they wont to do; thence named ς $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$. Which g *Tuer* ς Schol. Naz. in objects to Menelaus about Ajax, when by his deceit the armour was given to Ulysses, and therefore he calls him $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ g Sophocles $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$. Sch. $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$; not amisse $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, Ajacc. p. 68. h When the number was known, if the white or solid balls h Schol. Arist. were more, they took their Tables, which they had in their 438. hands, and drew a short line, as a token of absolution, if the black or hollow were more; they drew a longer line as condemning. Hence ι $\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$ $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, may be used, for to ι Aristoph: condemn every body. The thing it self they termed $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ Vesp. loco cit. $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ as Aristophanes. By this the one party being over- κ Pag. 491. thrown (as none ever was without the sentence of the Jud- ι Aristoph. p. ges) his adversary wrote down what dammages he should 472. pay, which they term $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$. m Plutarch $\delta\iota\epsilon\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ m Cais p. 17. $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$. n For it was an use of old p 454. n Schol. Arist. for those that went to law to make agreements, I know not in $\alpha\alpha$. whether by oath, for they did swear by three Gods $\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$, p. 50. $\kappa\alpha\delta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$, $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma$, and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would stand to such and such conditions, before sentence, that he that was cast should undergoe somewhat; and afterwards $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$, that is, set down what loss of limbs or life o Schol. Arist. or means, &c. for although they did α $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma$ give their p 740. estates as pledges to answer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be lesse or more then the fine There was

in causes capital an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*, where they gave two sentences. In the first they determined whether they should condemn or free: If in the first he was condemned, the manner of punishment was ordained in the second: but if in the first they found no cause of death, they bad the accused to fine himself, which *b Xenophon* intimates by *καταμαρ*, and if it were too little the Judges doubtlesse made it more, as the *Scholias*t of *Aristophanes* if I forget not: the custome is set down by *c Cicero*, speaking of *Socrates*: *Ergo ille quoque damnatus est, &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the first suffrages, but also by those which by the appointment of the Laws they were to give the second time. For in *Athens* the accused being found guilty, if the Offence were Capitall, they weighed and considered the Penalty. When the sentence was to be given by the Judges, they asked the Defendant, what he thought himself to have deserved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not observed.) In Trial, if there be more for the prisoners liberty, then against him, he is streight acquitted, but if more then half be in the pot of condemnation, he suffers. *d Socrates* at the first had two hundred eighty and one more against him then on his side, and at the next eighty more were added to the former, so in all he had three hundred threescore and one condemnatory suffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in *e Demosthenes* of *Cimon* like to be punished with death, *παρὰ τῶν ἡμῶν ψήφῳ*, if there had not been wanting. And again, *ἡ μὲν ἡμῶν ψήφῳ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ τιμίσται*. Nay one was sufficient, *g Demosthenes*. *Μία μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ*. But *Ulpian* on the place *ὡς ἡμῶν δίδου τιμῶν*, sayes that he was lightly punished. *h* If the voyces were equal, then was the prisoner loosed; because sometimes he might be accused upon suspicion, or of those things which he did not willingly commit; or perhaps was sued out of envie, and many other reasons given by *i Aristotle*; therefore did the Lawgiver leave

a Contaren. de
Rep. Ven. l. 3.

b Apolog. Socr
p. 265.

c de orat. 1. fol.
61. b.

d Laert. in So-
crat p. 115.

e Pag. 436.

f Pag. 430.

g P. 338.

h Aristoph. p.
244.

i Probl. 7^{μη}.
29.

leave some place for pity and compassion, To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the *k* deserts of their ancestors; their own lives formerly well led. / Sometimes shewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray hairs of their parents, but *m* mothers chiefly, to intercede in silence: Sometimes embracing their children in their arms, they held them up in the Judges view: or caused them *a* to come up into the *βῆμα*, or pulpit, and supplicate with tears: which wrought so much upon the Judges, that *b* Aristophanes in a scoff presents one *τα τῶν γυναικῶν*, drowning his sentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Judges speak to the Prisoner, *c* *Κατὰ βῆμα*, *Κατὰ βῆμα*, wishing him to go down from the *βῆμα*, a token often of Mercy; though now and then it proved otherwise. Nay it was a word of displeasure too, as when *d* Plato would have been Advocate for *Socrates*. *Νόμιμα δ' αὖτ' ἐν ἀδύτοις Ἀδύτοις αἰεὶ ἔσσι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων*, they thundred out *Κατὰ βῆμα*, *Κατὰ βῆμα*. Neither may I forget *e* *Amyntas* the brother of *Æschylus* the Tragedian, who, when the people would have stoned his brother for some impiety brought on the stage, held up his elbow and arm without a hand lost in the fight at *Salamis*: by which spectacle the Judges calling to mind the merits of *Amyntas*, dismissed the Poet. Neither may I omit what *f* *Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not so much for justice, as regarded what might conduce most to their own profit, and be convenient: *g* As that they condemned innocents, and spared offenders that could speak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of cases a whole year, saies *h* *Xenophon*, and *i* *Aristophanes*. *Ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑκάστῳ τῶν Εἰσαγγελλῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ οὐκ ἀναβλήναι. Now we do not handle suits of above three-score years, but we are put off till the next day. Ταῦτα οὖν εἰς τὸν εἰκοστὸν ἢ ἐκ δεκάτου. For we come to trial within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the case hung in suspense, the name of*

† Dem. p. 492.
/ Arist. T. 1.
m Dem. p. 493.
a Arist. loco cit.
βῆμα ἀναβάντων.
d Arist. pp. 469.
b Vesp p. 499.
c Sch. Ar. 500.
d Laert. Socr. p. 115.
e Alian. Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.
f Athen. Rep. p. 115.
g Apol. Socr. initio.
h Athen. Rep. p. 406.
i Euxenista. 752. 753.
They are translated foolishly into Latine.
is what the Pro-
claur in the ci-
vil Law usually
mean by in
proximum.

k Budæus in
Pand. No.
Relig. p. 31.
l Demosthen
Mid. 347.

the accused was(as among the *Romans*, whence k *Rei perjurii*) exposed to a publick Table to the view of all men, which they terme ἐκκλῆξ. *Demosthenes*. ἡ ἐκκλῆξ πρὸς τῷ ἐπινύμιον. *Ulpian* προσδεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ βλῆσται. You see here the place too. viz. at the Statues of the *Epomini*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἴτια, by m *Demosthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος, a bare report; but after proof ἐλεγχῆς. ὅταν ᾖν αὐ εἶπαι τις, ἐν ταύταις ὁμῶν δειξῇ. After judgment past, η ἀδικήματα. An inditement of sacrilege, theft, murder, treason, is but αἴτια; the evidence and conviction make. it ἐλεγχῆς, the sentence ἀδικήματα.

m Cont. Andro.
388.
n Dem. p. 406.

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagita

ON the hill on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the *Areopagus*, in the old Translation of the Acts of the Apostles rendered *Vicus Martium*, by our English men, *Mars his Street*, falsely. For a πᾶς bears not that signification, but what b *Justin Martyr* interprets, οὐ ψιλὸς τόπος, an eminent place. Εν δὲ ὄχθῃ τῇ ἐνὶ τῷ ἑκείνῳ τῷ δῖος θεῶν. For that Judiciary was on a high rock. Therefore named by c *Æschylus* & d *Euripides*, Ἀρεοῦ ὄχθος, by e *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and f *Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: so called, as fond Antiquity would have it, g from the judgement of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrothius* the sonn of *Neptune*. But h *Justin Martyr*, because he was there arraigned of adultery, μοιχεύας ἐκείνῳ δίκας ἔθηκεν. But alike true. It pleases me well to consider the superstition of the ancients, that consecrated high places to their deities, and erected the statues of their Gods upon hills. As i *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*, when Tullius had divided the Roman field, be made on high hills & places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen and called them πᾶγους. Dion. Hal. 4. Not as if it signified a village but as it was situated. For *Pagus villa rustica* comes from πᾶγους Because built near a well. Petor. bin Acta p. 136. e Eumenid. p. 296. d Elect. p. 836. e Metamorp. 1. 6. fab. 2 f Vide Scalig. in conject. g Demost. p. 413. Paul. p. 26. Simeon. Met. & Pachym. in vit. Dionys. Areopag. b Loc. citato. i Paul. Attic. p. 31

whence

whence *Jupiter Parnethius, Hymettius, Anchefmius*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a Hill *Νεπτις* & *ωδύ*, *Saturne* another *Κρονο*, & *ωδύ*. *Pan* another, *Πανς* & *ωδύ*. *Mercury* another *Ερμς* & *ωδύ*, so *Mars* his *Areopagus*. & *Eschylus* gives a nomination from the *Amazons*, sacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came & fought against *Theseus*. Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name from the cases in it handled; of blood willfully shed: so *Hesychius*, *Αρεοπαγίς*, That when *Juvenal* calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of Murder*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the *m Tragedian*, the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend Council, then which nothing is more constant (saies *n Tully* comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more severe as by *o Pseudo Dictys Cretensis* it is styled *Judicium severissimum per omnem Græciam*. Then which none Judged better; more just, or honest, saies *p Xenophon q Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and *r Cicero* received the like opinion, but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* presently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table, that they who had lost their liberties should be restored again, unless they were condemned by the *Areopagites, Epheta, Prytanes, Basileis*, of murder, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, *τῆς δὲ τῶν δὲ πρὸς Σόλωνα*, &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*). & Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Epheta* (Judges so called, because when formerly the *Basileus* made inquisition after murder unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it *ἐπίσημον*, that is, translated it to the *Epheta*, their number was but fifty one. And thought they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) *u Possardus* saies, he abolished their severity, and substituted the *Areopagites*. But a *Urbo Emmis* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, but brought it into a better form, made it more strong and firm and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems

Eumenid.
p. 296.

l Saryr. g. v. 100
m Eschylus

pag. 297.
n Ad Attic. l.

1. Ep. 11.

o De bello

Tro. l. 6. p. 147.

p Αρωμνημ.

q In Solone

pag. 63.

r Offic. l. 1.

s Loc. laudato

t Pollux. l. 8.

u P. 407.

u De Athen.

Mag. p. 446.

a De Rep

Athen. p. 20.

lessened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Epheta*; *Solon* restored that authority and made it greater. *b* To this company none were admitted, but wise, wealthy and noble men, *c* famous for good life, and innocency, τὸ ἐν πᾶσι ἀνεπίλητον, whom no man could justly charge of misdemeanour. Nay, men whose behaviour was intollerable, δειπῆς ἀλλοσι περὶ μαρσιν ἀνεκτοὶ ὄντες, after they were chosen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and blushing at their former dispositions, ἐκινῶντες τὴ φύσιν χρηστοῦ, changed their natures, & embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain, *e* *Nicephorus* makes them but nine, as *Maximus* too out of *Philochorus*, *Pachymerius* fiftie and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is somewhat, that they consisted of fifty and one, besides the Nobilitie most wise and rich. πάλιν δὲ *Eutarchides* ἡ πλεῖστα καὶ βιωσύνῃσι διατελούντων. By which words he seems to aym at the nine *Arcontes*, *g* who when they had governed one year, and given an account of their offices, and had administred all things justly, were chosen yearly into this society. For which election annual, the number was doubtful. For some might die in that space or all live, and in the next year be increased. *Volateran* out of an old inscription in *Acropolis*, that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΔΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ, &c. To the most famous *Rufius Festus*, Proconsul of Greece and *Areopagite* the council of *Areopagus* consisting of three hundred; and the people of *Athens* set up this monument for a testimonial of his good will and benevolence. But that might only happen when this was erected. *b* They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, ἢ μὴτις μάλας ἤμαρτι, unless for some grand offence, *i* *Bozium* tels us (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Atheniensis olim*, &c. The *Athenians*, quoth he did strive to challenge to themselves the prerogative of wisdom, and to them is it bent what the Apostle saies, *The Greeks seek after wisdom*. Nevertheless their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things consisted of Judges that were Priest, and the High Priest

b Vid. Maximus in Prolog ad S. Dionys. Opera & Niceph lib 2. in vita Dion. c Pachymer. d Hec. in Areopag. p. 133. e Loco supra laudato. f Athid. l. 2. g Anonym. in Argu. Oratig. Androcia.

^a They were of those Magistrates that were chosen by Lot, as the Archon, Thesmothetæ, Basileus, Polemarchus, for which cause Pericles was not of that number because he never attained to these offices Plut. in Peric. p. 113. h Anonymus loco laudat. i De statu Italiae adversus Machiavel.

Priest of all that asked every of their sentences, took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For *k* they were o-
 verseers of all, *l* Judges of wilfull murders, wounds given
 out of pretended malice : which would make some, having a
 desire to drive a man our of *Athens*, go to a Chirurgion and
 make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him
 whom they hated, upbn an action of battery, as *m* *Mantithæus*
 against *Boæotus*. They sate upon incendiaries, and impositions, *πρὸς Βοιωτῶν*
 if the party dyed that took their doses. *a* They saw that the *πρὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς*
 Laws should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have
 in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. *c* In a word, all
 great delinquencies came under their censures. They inquired
 into the behaviours of men: & we read in *d* *Zenophon* that they
 sharply reprov'd a young man for his loose living. *Ἀναγλῆστον* It is quoted like-
ἰδόντων αὐτὸν ἦν Ἀπην πικρῶν, &c. saies the *Dipnosophist*. *e* *Val-* wise by *Athe-*
rius Maximus. *Est & ejusdem urbis f sanctissimum consilium* *nus*. *Dipnos-*
Areopagus, &c. There is likewise in that City the most sac-
 cred Councel *Areopagus*, where they were wont most dili-
 gently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what
 gain he maintained himself, and what his trade and actions
 were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they
 must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. *ἡμῶν δὲ τῶν ἑα-*
g The Greek author tels us that except in great cases of ne- *λυσθῆναι καὶ τὸν*
 cessity they medled not with state affaires, but it seems o- *συνέτατον*
 therwise. For if any one say, quoth *b* *Tullie*, that the *Attick*
 Republick can be well governed, without the council of *b* *De natura*
 the *Areopagites*; he may as well say that the World may be *i* *Est enim*
 governed without the Providence of the Gods. when the *bellum gest-*
Medes and *Persians* invaded *Greece*, *i* by the advice of them *um consilio*
 was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an ever- *Senatus ejus;*
 lasting memory of a victory. *k* And when their publik Treas- *Cicero Off. 1.*
 sury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachs* *Plutarch, in*
mis, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advice, when *Themistocl.*
 they had wonne the day, was a cause saies *l* *Aristotle*. *ἑκασ-*
πυλῶντος τοῦτον *π* *πρὸς τὸν*, to give strength and sinews to the

m Isocrates
Areop. p. 132

Commonwealth. m Under their sight were all the youth of Athens. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, & were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them then when they were children (not observed by our Contrymen in sending their sons young to the Inns of Court) youth and heat of blood, unsteadiness in judgement, rashness in adventures, and proneness to vice, leading or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own destruction. To them appertained

n Laert. lib. 2. in
Aristip. p. 154.

blasphemies against their Gods, violating of Religion, and divulging Mysteries, as when n *Euricledes* the Hierophanta in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀδικῶντες παρὰ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysterie? οἱ μὲν ἀμύητοι αὐτὰ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, replied, such as open them to those who are not initiated. Therefore quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalarus* befriended him, the Hierophanta was in danger, οὐκ ἄπειρα ἀναχθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν, to have been brought before the Council of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority S. Paul was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) a For although that the Athenians were under the Romans, yet their Lords made them αὐτονομίαι, sui juris, & permitted, them to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus, After the felony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Basilens*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three several times to debate the business, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, b and putting off the Crown which he was wont to weare, sate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, saies c *Lucian* that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden d ἐπεμναι ἑσθῆα καὶ δίκτυον, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed παραγῶν. This f *Aristotle*

a Simeon
Metaphrast.

b Pollux. l. 8.

c Hermorim.
p. 505.

d Pollux, p. 405

e Vide Ulp.

n. Demost.

p. 396.

Storle calls *ἑὸν τὸ πρὸς γυμνασίου* *ἀλγεινόν*, to speak beside the matter. Before the trial both parties swear (which they stile *ῥαπανάριον*.) The Appeller standing upon the *testes* of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull (usuall to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarus* swore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they should revenge any wrong done to her, and her predestinated husband, *ἡ ἐμὴ τὴ ἰσοῦν ἔστιν ἡμῶν*, and *Hercules* to the children of *Helena* *ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμῶν ῥαπανάριον*) took oath, therefore named *ῥαπανάριον*, in which he maintained that he dealt justly and rightly, and that he was joyned in affinity to the slain man, & which if he were not, he could not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood *ἐπὶ ἡμῶν*, I suppose is, because they are the instruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wished an extirpation of his house, himself, and his posterity. In which if he were perjured, he was lyable to no punishment, as among the Romans *i iurijurandi contempta religio satis Deum ultorem habet*. For wearing is punished by a revenging God; but if any swore false by the life of his Prince, he fell under the *Julian Law, Laesæ Majestatis*. After this the Prisoner swore, which among us will not be allowed. Then setting each of them upon a two silver stones, one of which was named *ἡ δὲ τὸ ῥαπανάριον*, the stone of injury; the other *Ἀναδινάριον*, by *Adrian Junius* thought *Αναδινάριον* of innocence, not impudence. Then the appeller asked the prisoner three questions, which *Æschylus* calls *τρία πρὸς ἀντιμαχίαν*. First, whether he were guilty or no, *καὶ ἐστὶν ἡσυχία*; to which he answered, *ἔκτορα* or *ἡ ἐκτορα*, yea or nay; secondly, *ὅπως κατεῖλον*; for what reason he did the murther? Thirdly, *τίς τὸ βυλάριον* who were the Abettors? Then arose there certain Lawyers, *ἐξουσίαι*, who shewed whether the Murther was committed *δὲ τῶν δίκων* & *Æschylus* in justice. (For in *Athens* there were such Councillours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had resort) By *ὁὐδὲ δίκων*, you must understand those causes, in which *Draco* thought it lawfull to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleanness with wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubine, or any whom

g Pollux loco laudato. Dem. cont. Arist. pag. 413.

h Pausanias Lacon. p. 113 i Idem Mellesianicis. p. 126. k Demost. p. 608. & 418.

These agreed, says Poffard, about the punishment, according to the damage received. De Athen. Mag. pag. 449. i Lib. 2. Cde reb. cred.

a Paus. Attic. pag. 27.

b Eumenid. pag. 192. c Ibidem.

d Æschylus pag. 293. e Demost. vid. pag. 647. f Demost. pag. 312.

he

Vide Demosth.
contra Arist.

Vide Sylvium
in Orat. pro
Flacco.

g Terentius,

h "H τόνον

xpiCic ex iñ-

de τῶ κει-

στῆν ἐπὶ οὐ-

Pachimerius.

i Dem. con.

Aristocrat.p.

413.

k Aristid.Tom.

i.p.185.

l Ælian.Var.

Hist.l.5.c.13.

m Valer.Max.
p. 322.

n Lib. quinto.

he accounts among his children; the party so offending might be slain in the manner by him, against whom he had trespassed. Likewise, in the defence of a mans goods, if the thief were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquisition they passed to sentence, which was given very privily as *funeral intimates*, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*; without speaking (is the *Tabellares sententia* of the Romans; in which they wrote C. if they condemned A. if absolved N.L. if the case were not manifest) hence *Αρεοπαγίτη στυγερῆς*, for one that is close and silent; and *Αρεοπαγίτης*, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, and in whose countenance is *g tristis severitas* in *τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ συμπεριφορῇ καὶ φωνῇ*. Whatsoever they concluded of, stood irrecoverable, neither *h* could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel. For so upright was their sentence, *i* that none, either Appellant or Prisoner, could ever say, that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are alike contented. *k ἡ δίκαιος εὐεργετὶς ἀμφοῖς τοῖς καταδικαστέοις*. After doom the prisoner was to suffer death. In which Execution also the *Areopagites* had a care lest the innocent should be punished with the guilty. *l* When therefore they had condemned a woman for poysoning another, they deferred the Execution, because she was great with child, and straight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assises *m* It will not be amiss to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & son, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commaded the woman and her accuser to appear some hundred years after, that by such a bot-tome of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that they would neither condemn nor acquit the woman. One thing more *n Quintil*, tells us, that they condemned a boy
for

for putting out the eyes of Quails. Because it was a sign of a mind, likely to prove most pernicious. Their power was shaken, and somewhat pluckt down by *b Ephialtes*, a sore enemy of *Oligarchical* Government, and more inclining to the people, who was secretly slain by *c Aristodici* of *Tanagra*. They sate three dayes every Month, *τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, *τρίτη, δέκατη*.

b Plutarchi. vit. p. 355. & Mor. 361. *c* Plut. in Pericle. p. 113.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

De Judicio ἐν Πανδασίῳ.

After the Siege of *Troy*, some of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, *d* who kept the *Palladium*, to the coast of *Attica*, and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, supposing it to be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demophon* ignorant that they were Grecians, came to aid and defend his own; and slew many of the *Argivi*: which they cast out unburied, whose bodies when no beasts had toucht (*εἰς τὴν ὁρμήν* *οὐκ ἐτάφησαν* *οὐδὲν ζῶον* *Pollux* sayes, the Interpreter, *nullus vivum*, I better think it no creature either Foul or Beast) *Acamas* shewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; Being warned then by the Oracle (who named them *Ἀργεῖοι*, that is, *f* neither knowing nor known) they buried them; and in that place consecrated the *Palladium*; where they made also a judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and called it * *Ἐν Πανδασίῳ*, *juxta Palladium*, as some. Here was *Demophon* first tried, who returned from this battail, killed with his horse, somewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; *g* For whose kindred some think he satisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. *h* If any had stricken a man or woman, and the party chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. *i* In such cases the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not punished with perpetuall exile; *ἀειδίκα*, as in willfull Felony; (kept by us in *England* once, called *Abjuration*

d Diſtys Cretenſis de bello Trojaho, l. 5. p. 140.

e Libro octavo p. 406. *f* Schol. Sop. in Oed. Tyr.

* It is simply ſo called Palladium Ælian Var. l. 5. c. 15.

g Pauſ. Attic. p. 27. *h* Dem. contra Nexram. pag. 717 vid. p. 647. *i* Dem. p. 319.

R

where

† Demosthe-
 nes, Midiana.
 † Eust. in II. I.
 Εδος παλαιῶν
 λῶν γυναικῶν
 τινῶν &c.
 m De Ponto
 l. 1. Eleg. 4.
 n Eustach. but
 Demosthen.
 ἵος αὐτῶν
 τὰς τῶν
 γυναικῶν
 δούλων,
 u will be ob-
 tained remission
 from some of the
 kindred of the
 slain.
 a Demosth.
 b Fastorum 2.
 initio.

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would ne-
 ver return) but he did *κτείνω*, in a gentler term. † For it
 was a custome of old, to give a certain summe of money (the
 Attick Law *ῥήματα ἐπίνοια*, in wilfull all was confiscate) to
 the kindred of the slain that they might not depart their
 country: but if they could not purchase an abroad, they went
 somewhere else. m Ovid. *Cede puer facta Patroclus Opuntia*
reliquit. Their discontinuance was but for one year. αἶμας
 ὃ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐκτείνω ἐκτείνω αἶμας τὴν πόλιν ἐκτείνω. The money dis-
 burfed on s. ch occasions was properly called *τιμὴ*, *quasi* *co. m.*
 from *οἶος* murther, as if it were the price of blood. And
 the Scholiast on *Sophocles* tells us that *αἶμας* is spoken only ἐπὶ
 ἀπαλλαγῇ *ῥήματα* of payment of money, but abusively of
 any punishment. a If the party wounded had forgiven the
 offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperately
 hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; other-
 wise he fled. And in the flight, he betook himselfe to some
 acquaintance, by whom he was cleansed from the guilt with
 certaine ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call
Fibrua. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmaon* purified:
 b Ovid.

Gracia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.
Atteridem Peleus, ipsum quoque Pelea Phoci
Cede per Aemonias solvit Acastus aquas.
Vestam franatis per inane draconibus Egeus
Creculeus immeritâ Phasida foveis ope;
Amphiardiad: Naupacteo Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit, solvit & ille nefas.
Ab nimium faciles, qui tristitia crimina cadis
Fluminea tolli posse putatis aquâ.

In this ceremony they did *ἄλκυ*, sacrifice, saies c *Demosthenes*;
 which custome likewise was observed by the d *Trazenians*
 in the lustration of *Orestes* from the blood of his Mother;
 which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated
 there

e Κατὰ Αἴε-
 σκα. p. 414.
 d Pausan. Co-
 rinth. p. 74.
 Κατὰ τὴν δὲ
 φωνὴν Ὀρέστην
 ἀπαμειβόμενος
 ἀλλοι, &c.

there, and yearly observed afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegasus*; the sprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I suppose (by the words following perswaded to it, which tell us, that when the καδάρσια were buried, there sprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καθαίρειν, θύσαι, & ἐξομαλύνειν. This, as I said, was in his flight, Κατίθ' ἐς τοὺς ἐκαθαίρεσθαι νομίμοις ποί. The proceeding in this Court, was first, διαμυσία, such as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuser and defendant: secondly, λόγος, their speeches on both sides: thirdly, γνώσις δικαστεῖν, Judgement. If the prisoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murdered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he should flee, as above said, until he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Cousins of the deceased.

C A P. III. S E C T. IV.

De Judiciis ἐν Δελφίνῳ. Πρωτοῦ Φρατῆος.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by *c Agem* *c Plutarch*, (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honor of *Apollo Del-* pag. 4. l. 19.
phinus and *Diana Delphinia*, a where was the Tribunal na-
med ἐν Δελφίνῳ or ἐν Δελφίνῳ δικαστήριον. * In this Judicatory pag. 333.
were heard cases of murder, when the party confessed the * *Ælian*. Var.
fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. *b* For the Law l. 5. c. 11.
required no punishment of any man that should kill another
taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanness with his Mother, Sister, Daughter, Concubine, or free
Children. Likewise if in preservation of his goods or own
defence he spilt blood, it was not capital. The first that was
arraigned here was *Thesens*, maintaining the right he had to
slay the Theeves, saies *c Pollux*, (I know not whether he *c* Lib. 8. pag.
mean *Sciron* and *Procrustes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his chil- 406.
dren who were Rebels. Before this trial of *Thesens*, who- *d* Pausan.
At. p. 27.

soever had slain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or staying die, were the cause never so just. *Εν Πρυτανίῳ*, Here they fate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, sentence was past on that thing which slew him; and the *φουλοβασιλῆς*, that were the Masters of this Court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of *Athens*, to which *g. Eschines* alludes. *Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ πῶ λίθους, καὶ τὸ σίδηρον πᾶ ἄφωνα, καὶ ἀγνώμονα ἐκ τίνων ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ παρὲρ ἐξώων.* The first thing that here was judged was an *Axe*, wherewith the Priest whom they call *Βερέν*, had slain an *Oxe* on the altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erechtheus*. *Εν Φεαγίῃ*. In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name *φεαγίς* from *Phreum* an *Heros*, some think; not because it stood in a pit, whence *h Pollux* names it *ἐσφραγίς*. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwillfull murder *μήπω τῆς ἐκκαλόντων αὐτὸν ἡδυσμῶν*, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the space of this exile it happened that he wittingly slew another he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled *ἐσφραγίῳ*, in a place seated on the Sea, καὶ τὸ πον ἐπικαλέμενον ἐπιδυλάγιον, where the guilty drawing near in a boat or bark was to make his apology, τὸ γὰρ ἔχ ἀπὸ πονος not coming to land or touching it, neither casting anchor or mooring his bark; and if he were found guilty he underwent deserved punishment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not discharging him of the former *ἢ πῶ δ' ἐπὶ πρεσβυτέρους πόλις φωνὴν ὅτι ἐχεν*. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this tryal, he was exposed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seem to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Tenecer*, proving himself to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: a whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of *Salamis*

f Pollux loco citato.
g Contra Ctesiph. p. 103.

h Lib. octav. 406.
i Demosth. contra Aristot. 415.

k Demosth.
l Rodolphus Gualter. out of Pollux interprets it
Scalam terræ injicientem;
putting down a ladder; the Greek
κατὰ βάλανον.
m Demosth. a Diogenes Cretensis de bello Trojano. l. 6. p. 145.

Salamis, unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to *b Aristotle* *ὅτι τοῖς bPolitic. 4. c. 17* εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπαφίεται εἰς τὸν Ἀθῆναιος λόγον, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀφῆσιν δικασίῃ. Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back again, such as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν ἀφῆσιν, When the party prosecuting will not admit of reconciliation.

CAP. III. SECT. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. παρεῖσθαι. Τεῖνον. Βατραχίον.

Φοινικίον. Τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀνὰ Μυτίχῃ δικασίῃ.

Ἐν Ἀρδίῃ. Διαμηταί.

BESIDES these Courts of blood and causes criminal, there were for civil matters these *Heliaa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. *παρεῖσθαι*. Of this name there are two *ἑκαῖσθαι μῆζον καὶ μέσον*, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, saies *Peris*, that exceeded not one drachm, to which *c Aristotle* might be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, *πρὸς τῷ μικρῷ συναλαγμῶν, ὅσα δραχμιαία &c.* And this was the meaning of *d Pausanias*, *Ἐπὶ ἐλαχίστοις σμίκτων εἰς αὐτὸ. Suing here for the least occasions* The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the Court which made *Peris* to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the *δίκαια δικασίῃα*. It stood *e ἐν ἀφανεί τῷ λεῶν*, in an obscure place of the City, whence *ἐν παρεῖσθαι*, in *f Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded privily by a Metaphor taken from the situation of the Judicatory, or, *παρεῖσθαι τῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἔσθον, καὶ κρυφὰ τὸ φανερῶν*, from goods secretly hidden. *Ἐν παρεῖσθαι, αὐτὸ τὸ λαβῆναι. Τεῖνον*, from the form of it, which seems to have been triangular. *Βατραχίον* and *Φοινικίον*, from the colours that were painted *g ὅτι πρὸς σπονδίσκῳ τῇ ἐξόδῳ* upon the post of the entry, answerable to which there was a staff given to the Judges, that they

c Polit. lib. 4. c.

17.

d Atticis. p. 17

113.

e Pausanias.

ibidem.

f Pag. 450.

g Aristoteles

Athen. Rep.

apud Arist.

Sch. pag. 31.

they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staff. τὸ ἐπὶ ἄλκυ, from the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf, where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence ἡ δίκη δαίς, *Lycidecem*, for sycophants & such as corrupt judgement; because that such persons were very frequent and buſie there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, α πάλα β συμβήται οἱ ἀνδράζοντας τὰ δικάσια (understand πρὸς αὐτὸν or the like) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture, ἔθθα οἱ δαὲς δακτύλους καὶ σικαδόντων καὶ δίκαι γυγνυμένοι συνεστάντες. The *b* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay, three oboli to each a day. ε. Μυτιση δικάσιον. This was a great Judicatory; so named from *Merichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly descended, and owed nothing to the publick Treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted, Εὐ νεδύτη. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunal so called: neither did *d* *Menſius* think otherwise when he translated these words, of *e* *Pollux*,

d Athen. Ac.

l. 2. c. 12. p.

124

r Lib. 8. pag.

406.

f Ἀπέλλω

Πατρῶν, καὶ

Διὸς Πατρῶν, καὶ

Διὸς Βασιλῆα.

g Etym. mag.

p. 147.

καὶ νεδύτη δικάσιον, apud tribunal *Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, αἰμυον καὶ νεδύτη δικάσιον. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardettus*, *Ardettus* is a place near the River *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peer, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutinie to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presently after their election) to give sentence according to the Laws, and concerning things to which no Laws were enacted, in equity and justice, *f* by *Apollo Patrus*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirms, speaking of *Ardettus*, *g* Εὐ τῷ

τῶν δὲ ῥητορῶν ὡς μὲν οἱ δίκασται δικάσαντες ἔσαν. The Judges in this place took their Oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called *h* *Arcteti*, proverbially, as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. *Kαὶ Ἀρτέτι* ἐμάρτυς. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagia*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytanum*, and *Phreatys*. For other matters *Helsea*, *Trigonum*, *Parabyssum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi* forum, & *ad Lycum*, where the *Δικασταὶ* were wont to sit, sayes *k* *Possardus*, of whom, because *l* *Emmianus* numbers them among *ἑνδεδέκα* *quatuor precipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen *m* forty four men, *n* above threescore years old, who judged in severall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot, he was deprived of the privileges of an *Athenian* Citizen. *o* In former time there came no controversie into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachmes; *Al-* though *p* *Ulpian* tells us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seems to be, *ἅδ' ἐν ἱερίῃ*, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. Whatever the *Δικασταὶ* judged, if the Plaintiff and Defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the *q* Argument of *Demosth. Orat. contra Callippum*, & *r* *Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot, as they gave them on what side soever, for the Plaintiff by themselves, and for the Defendant by themselves. / When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time, if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which

h Casaub.
Theoph.
Char. p. 178.
i Etym. Mag.
loco laudato.

k De Mag. A-
then. p. 540.
l Descrip. Reip.
Ath. p. 41.
m Ulpian. in
Dem. p. 342.
n Pollux l. 8.
p. 407.
o Pollux ib.

p Demosth.
loco citato.

q Pag. 678.
r Lib. 8. p. 407.

/ Vide Dem.
Midian, &c.
Ulpian in il-
lud. p. 344.

which was required for dammages; they received as a fee from the Plaintiff one drachme which they called *τὸ δόκα* *ἄν*, as also another from the Defendant, when they gave him his oath. Their office was but annual; And because they would pervert justice, (as *Demosthenes* is witness, * although they were not to judge before they had sworn) give sentences according to favour, envy, or for gain, therefore *x* at the years end made they an account of their function upon the last day of *ἡ Θερσίλῳ*, on which it was lawful for any to speak what he could object against them; and if any were faulty, they were *ἀτιμοί*. Thus much of the *Διαγῆται* *καὶ ἰσῶται*. There were other *Διαγῆται* likewise, such as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromissarii*: and we in the English *Arbitrators*: whom two parties chose with resolution to stand to their determination, whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controversie whatsoever: such by the *Attick* Law any might request, but with necessity of abiding at their judgment. *z* For they could not appeal from them to any other Court. To refer matters to their arbitrement the *Greeks* term *ἐπιτρέφειν δίκας*. And it will not be superfluous here to relate the story of *Bunas* an *Athenian*. whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had chosen Arbitrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the sentence until at last he died. Whence grew to a proverb, *ἡ Βούνα δὲ δίκας*, *Bunas judicat*, *Bunas* judgeth, of those that defer to passe sentence, and hold a case long in suspense.

C A P. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

HAVING thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it follows that I speak of the Terms of Law, Writs, Accusations. These were of two sorts, private and publick. The publique were properly termed *Κατακρίσεις*, saies *ἡ Ἐμμίου*. Of

Κατακρίσεις

z Pollux 8.
c. 10. p. 408.

u Orat. in Boetorum pro doct.

* Idem pag. 682. n. 41.

x Ulpian loco laudato p. 342.

y Petit. Miscel. l. 8. p. 211.

z Vide legem apud Dem. p. 344.

a Zenobius.

b Descrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.

Κατηγορίαι there were divers sorts. *ῥεσθῆ, παῖς, ἑστῆς, ἀπαγο-*
γῆ, ἀφύγναι, ἀδελανφία, ἐνομασία. *ῥεσθῆ*, saies *c Ulpian*, is *ἐνὶ* c In Dem. pro
τῷ ἑκατόν, of any trespassse against the Law, by which the Corona. p. 1. 9.
 Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; and most pro- d Orat. contra
 perly, d quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made Lept. 2. 56.
 according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which e Sir T. Smith
 in English we call a e Writ of Right, in Latine *Actio* or *For-* Com. wealth of
mula, as in f *Sueton*, *Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to serve f In Vitellio.
 a man with a Writ. g *παῖς* is a kind of an information made s Pollux 1. 8.
 against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for p. 387.
 converting Tribute money to a mans own use, or the like.
 Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with
 the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine which the
 parties convinced should undergoe, to be paid to him to
 whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not
 the fifth part of the suffrages, he was to lay down the sixt
 part of the fine, which the h Orators call *ἑκταῖον*, from *ἑξάς* h Demosth.
 because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of cont. Caric.
 the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of p 699. n. 6.
 the witnesses that were present. In general, all discoveries & Mnesib. p.
 of private injuries are called *παῖς*; which in Latine you may 646. n. 90.
 name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth cont. Steph.
 part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplicatores*; d d. A. p.
 but among the *Athenians* not so, if i *Pollux* say right, *ἡ πῆ* 22. n. 9. con-
ῖ πῆνδῃς ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφῷ, ἢ ἡ ἀλλοτρίῳ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ, tra Onetora.
 the amercement fell to the person injured, although another Egea. 2.
 accused for him. If the fine were written down a thousand p. 528. n. 19.
 Drachmes, & the Accuser had not the fift part of the voices, cont. Apho. C.
 he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded, p. 508. m. 97.
 a thousand, four hundred and one. *ἑστῆς* is a Writ against i Onomast. 1.
 those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet go about to s. c. 6. p. 387.
 bear office, saies k *Ulpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was ut- t Demosth. p.
 terly forbidden. The l Scholiast of *Aristophanes* takes it for 391.
 the accusing of any that did amiss in publick affairs. and the l In Equit. p.
 m Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, *ἐν τῷ ἀνίστα* m Pag. 469.
 S for

Onom. l. 8.

P. 88.

• In Stelit. 1.

p Sir T. Smith

Common W.

of Engl. l. 1.

c. 26. p. 281.

q Loco laud.

r Ulp. in Dem.

p. 389.

f Idem. p. 407.

z Dem. p. 416.

for men disfranchised. But *n Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taken in the manner, which the *Greeks* termed *ἡταιρολογία*, *Schol. Nazian.* *ἡ τ' αὖ τῆς δόξης*, *Pollux* expresses by *ἡτοιχογραφία ἀδικήματων*, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemn themselves; no further evidence required then from their own mouths. By which acknowledgment of their guiltiness, without greater trial, they received their doom: *p* as among us when a prisoner arraigned, confesses his Indictment to be true, no twelve men go upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the pain of death. Whence grew our Proverb, Confess and be Hanged. *q Pollux* *ἡτοιχογραφία ἀδικήματων*, *ἡ κρίσις*; *ἀλλὰ πικρὰν δαμάσκει*. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, *ἡ δὲ ἡσέβει*. The declaration was against men who were not present. *Ἀπαγωγή*, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachmes were endangered. In this *ἀπαγωγή*, they brought not all offenders to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences; *r* sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the *Thesmothetae*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique Treasury, or bound for those places or Countries where it was not permitted for him to go, or one who had committed Murder, if by reason of weakness he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and *ἀπαγωγή*, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house, where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers term *ἀφ' οὐκ ἔστω*. *Ἀφ' οὐκ ἔστω*, is when a fellow hath committed murder, and flies for succour to any; (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kinred of the slain or others had requir'd the Malefactor to be delivered to the and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house, and carry away any three persons, as some translate it,

or

or all save there, ἀχαιτεῖν, as others, who were to answer ^{u Idem cont.} for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to ^{Arist. p. 41.} escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies * *Ulpian*, is an accusa- ^{In Dem. p. 58.} tion concerning great and publick matters, such as ^{x Eund. p. 453.} else- where he speaks of, to wit the dissolution of the *Democra- cie*, or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publick, if any went to Warrs before they were sent, or betray'd a Garrison, army, or fleet. In other ac- cusations, if the accuser had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachmes, and lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrolable. But in after time, be- cause men would accuse presently for none, or small offences; therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fift part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachms, although he lost not the pri- viledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accu- sation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελιατικὴ. The Senate was Judge (*Pollux* saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalareus* 1500. where the Interpreter errs; for πρὸς πρῶτον is 500 to them, ἀκαὶ πρὸς in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more. & whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined, but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publick actions, private were these that fol- low, more properly called δίκαι.

Δίκαι δ' is an Action against a man, who, when two shall, ^{Dem. p. 410} scuffle, gives the first blow, which the ⁷ Greeks call ἀρξαι ^{vide Vlp. ib. &} πλῆγαι ἀδίκων. 2 The matter was heard before the Judges & ^{Arg. Orat. cont.} though the Law ordained not any set summe of money for ^{Everg. p. 637.} damages yet it was permitted for the party smitten to ^{2 Sch. Arist.} write down what he thought, fitting. a The reason why ^{Conc. p. 745} these actions were so strictly looked into, was least any not ^{a Dem. cont.} able to defend himself with his hands, should seek to revenge ^{Con. p. 690.} himself with stones, or other hurtful weapon,

6 Idem ibid.

c Arg. Orat.

Dem. contra

Galliclem.

d Dem. cont.

Callip. p. 680.

n. 10.

e Dem. cont.

Tim. p. 659.

n. 25.

f Sch. Aristot.

137. E.

g Cont. Phor.

P 555. n. 7-8.

h V. Cujacium.

Obse. l. 6. c. 15.

i This is reckon-

ed among the

Laws which

were made for

private men.

Ulp. in Dem. p.

481.

k V. Cœsaub. in

Theoph. p. 191.

Char.

l Απορεια.

m Polit. l. 2. cap. 3.

n Dem. pag.

651. n. 13.

o Ulp. in Dem.

p. 62. & 370.

6 Κατηγιαίει δ. Somewhat neer our proviso of giving the lye, left by taunting and reproachful words, men be provoked to blows. Βλάβει δ. Is when an any man receives damage and hurt in estate by another man. c As to turn water into his ground, by which it is anoyed; d To refuse to pay money where it is required, or to give it to another; e To promise to bear witness in a suit, and then not be present, by which the case fals, & the like. Παρεστηθην δ. About pawns, I suppose, which men that needed money were wont to leave with the usurers, for cloaths, household stuff, &c. Or about money put to the bank, which the exchangers did imploy to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of g Demosthenes. The word imports both. Απομυμνεί δ. Of divorce. h For they were wont to put away their wives, in former time, upon discontent or hope of greater portions, which divorce they called απομυμνεί, & as Lysias απομυμνεί on the husbands side, and on the wives απομυμνεί; for he did as it were turn her away, she was said to forsake him. Κεχόσται δ. Of ill usage of Parents as not relieving them if they were poor. Of wives against husbands, of Pupils against Tutors, Κλοπή of theft, after what manner soever, Which if it were by day, was not capital, but by night was deadly. Χρεός δ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by i Law provided in Athens that none should take too much Use, although once allowed by Solon, that any might make the best of his money: which he termes κρείσσιμον ἀργυρίου. Of Usury I shall speak more in the Chapter of money. Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained & would not stand to it. l Aristotle. Δίκεται πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ συμβολαίων. Συνθήκη; Συνθήκων δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man and Man, or between City and City, concerning free trading, as that of the Carthaginians with the Romans. Arist. Pol. 3. cap. 6. or the like m These Συμβήκαι were usually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαικασίας δ. n a contention

tion about bearing office, in which they seek to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. *Ενδίκαιος*. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kined was wont to sue each other, to make it appear who was nearest joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin to whom an inheritance falls is called *ἐνδίκαιος*, that is, ^{o Pollux. l. 3. c. 3. p. 136.} *Controversa*. *Μισοῖστος* *ἐκείν*. About letting of Houses (For *Herodotus* terms that *ἐνδιδόναι*, which other Greek writers *μισθῶναι*, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, *ἀμίδον* and *στομίδον* to let out. Which they often did for want of Money, which that they might obtain the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we use to do, *Ἔστιν οὗτο* *ἔστω*. Which Custom *Menedemus* in *p Terence* expresses— *Inscripti* ^{p Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 13} *illico*, *ÆDES MERCEDIS*) This Writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, such as immediatly is before spoken) who having the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upon some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remain void of a Tenant, to the loss of the Pupil, then was it lawful for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archon's* court, upon a Writ of *μισθώσεως οἴκου*. *Επιτροπῆς*. I have observed it to have been a custom among the Ancients, when they perceived themselves to draw neer to death, to call for some one, to whose care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender eye over them, & to provide for them what should be most convenient, such as *Oedipus* in *q Sophocles* entreats of *Thespius* in behalf of his daughters. — *ὦ φίλον γέρον* *Δός μοι χεῖρας οὖν* ^{p. 314.} *τίσιν ἀρχαῖαν τέκνῳι*, *τίμῃς τι σῶθῃς τῷ δὲ κατὰ νοῦν Μήνησι* *περὶ δένειν τὰς δ' ἐκὼν, πάλιν δ' ὅτ' αὖ Μίλαρε γενῶν δ' ἐνυμνήσῃ* *Ter. Andr.* *τ' αὐτὴς αἰν.* Not unlike is that of the *Comedian* under *Act. 1. Sc. 5.*

the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*:

Accessi: vos semota: nos soli: incipit:

Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque aetatem vides:

Nec clam te est, quam illi nunc utraque inutilis

Et ad pueritiam, & ad tutandam rem sunt.

Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,

Per tuam fidem, perque hujus solitudinem

Te obsecro ne abs te hanc segreas, non deferas,

Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;

Sive hac te solum semper fecit maximi,

Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.

Tecisti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:

Bona nostra hac tibi committo, & tua mando fidei.

Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, mors continua ipsam occupat.

But among the *Athenians* the use was to nominate in their Testaments and last Wills, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they should defraud the Orphans of their patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were sued with a Writ *ὀνειρωκτησις* as *Demosthenes* did sue his as soon as he came to age. But if the matter were not questioned within five years after the Pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the Law, the Guardian could not be taxed. *Aristotle*, of a Master against a Servant ingrateful for his manumission, not doing his duty to his Master. Because, as *Demosthenes* witnesses, it was the nature of servants once made free, not only to be ingrateful, but also to hate their Masters most of all men, as those who had been conscious to their servitude. It was enacted therefore that whosoever was convicted of ingratitude should again be made a bondslave. * *Valerius Maximus*. Age, quid illud institutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? quod convictus a patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis eximitur, The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the City (which

f Plut. in vita
ejus.

2 Demost. p.
724. 11. 22.

u Pag. 465.

* Lib. 2. c. 1. 0
p. 670.

(which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they term *x Maximam capitis diminutio* *x* Justin. Inst. nem. *Σίτις*. If any man put away his Wife, he was to restore her portion again; if he refused, he was *ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὀβολῶν πικροτέρῳ*, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *oboli*, which the *Atticks* term *γέμισθιον ἀποικίδε*, the Revenue of her dowry. The writ whereby he was sued was *Σίτις δίκης*, for the repayment. *2* *Ενοικία*, If any went to Law, as claiming title of an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ *ἐνοικία*, by which he demands his Rent for the time the Defendant had the house, if it were for any parcel of land, there was a Writ *ἐσποῖ* given out, for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an *ἐπίστα δίκην*, in which they claimed right and title to the house or land. Although in all these trials the defendants were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land: but if in a third trial, which they call *ἐξέλας*, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This *ἐξέλας* also is a Writ against all those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from *ἐξέλας*, to throw forth. *a* It is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrown in the Court, and fined a thousand Drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay, and if he laid it not down upon the naile, there went forth a Writ *ἐξέλας*, to make enter upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Writ against any who will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publick to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. *Εἰς δαμνῆσιν αἰρεῖται*. When two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might be constrained to it by the Writ *Βιβλαῖστος*, Because the Market place among the *Greeks* was the fittest to cheat & cozen in, as *b Anacharsis* was wont to say, therefore the *Athenians* enacted that none should buy in the Market-place; (to which the *Scythian* wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that they

Justin. Inst. l. 1. T. 16.

Demosth. p. 733.

Dem. p. 655. n. 58.

Ulpian in Dem. p. 340.

b Apud Laertii pag. 74.

e Pollux l. 8.
c. 6. p. 385.

d In Aufon.

Leg. l. 2. c. 6.

e In Theoph.

Char. p. 312.

f Adversario-
rum l. 4. c. 13.

g Don, quod
prius datur, ut
reliquum red-
datur, in Ter.
Heaur. Act. 3.
Sc. 3.

h Vide Disque
in Basil. Sel.

i Sermone 42.

k Onomast. l.

8. c. 6. p. 384.

l Demosth. p.

718, n. 29.

m Paud. Prio.

p. 100.

n Dem. p. 610.

n. 78.

Here followeth

the terms pro-

miscuous, pri-

uate and pub-

lique, which are

publique and

lawful for any

to prosecute.

See Pollux p.

386.

they forbade to speak false, and yet did so *ἡ ἐπιτάγή* (dicitur) if any man had bargained for any thing, and another sued and doubted of the right of it, e he might require the seller to confirm the lawfulness of the thing sold, and maintain it against all controversie, otherwise the seller was liable to *βιβλαῖος δίκην*. For although in *Athens* they bought for the most part *Gracâ fide*, with ready money, as d *Scaliger*, & e *Cassanbon* truly interpret it, f *Turnebus*, Representatâ pecuniâ: yet sometime gave they *Carnest* onely to make the thing sure, which the Greeks and Latines call *ἡ ἀπαστὴν*, from the *h Hebrew* כֶּסֶף. This seems to me to have been the hundredth part of the money which was to be paid for the thing bought, as i *Stobæus* out of *Theophrastus*. Where you may read likewise that it was the custome, when any thing was to be sold, to bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some threescore daies before. *Εἰς ἑξατῶν ἡμερῶν*. For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a suit in Law, by k *Pollux* his words I may conjecture, goods or money privily taken away. *Ἐξουπιάσις δίκην*. When any should offer to take another mans servant, and make him free against the will of the Master which the Greek term *ἡ ἐξουπιάσις ἐν δόμοις ἀφαιρέσις*.

Ἀμοιβήσις is a suit about nearnels of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without issue of his own body. *Πατρὸς το βολή*. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as near of blood, or upon some other conditions: from *πατρὸς το βολή*, because he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, sayes m *Budæus*: but if publick, the fift. n *Δικαιοσύνη*. When any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in controversie, and is *ἐν δίκῃ*, as a true heir being still alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Leocrates*. *Εἰς τὴν δίκην*. When any shall try to falsifie the *δικαιοσύνην*. *Ἀντιζητοῦν*. When men went to Law about kinred, as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

Ἀποστέλλει

Ἀλλοτρίων δ. All strangers in Athens were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my most worthy School-master, the glory of his time o Mr Matthew Buss hath observed, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be questioned, and if they were convicted their goods were sold and put into the City Treasury. Ἀχαριστία of ingratitude against those who shewed not themselves thankfull to those who had well deserved of them. Ξενία the same with ἀρεσιζισία, when any will reckon himselfe among the number of Citizens who never had been made free, by which he purchased imprisonment, untill such times as there was a Court kept, and then he was sold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye-witnesse of a matter. Εὐμαρτυρία, when another witness from the report of him that saw it. Ψευδομαρτυρία false witnesse, which to prosecute in Law they term ἐπονή. Ψαδὺ Ψευδομαρτυρίας. Λειτουργία, when one was eye-witnesse, and promised to testifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call κλητεύειν, after which citation the party was to be at Court, or forswear that he saw not the matter, or was not present, otherwise he was to pay a thousand drachmes, in which summe to be fined the Attick Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλητεύειν. Δωρον ἡγερέ, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes, δωροδοκία, against those that did corrupt them. Ἀργία of a man convinced of idleness, which once taken, Draco punished the delinquent with loss of the City priviledges. Σολον, not unless he were thrice delinquent. Λειτουργία, When any of the Marriners ran away from their Ships. Ἀναμαχητά, When the Marriners that stayed in the Ships would not fight, if occasion required. Ἀδελφωπάθεια, when one would fallly accuse, there was likewise against them a Writ ἐμβουλός. Ἀδελφωπάθεια, Against those that unjustly cite to the Court. Δωροξενία when any is accused of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to escape free. πνευμάριον, when

In Epist.
Dedic suo Eucharistici præfixa ad Richar.
Cantuariensem Archiepiscopū.

any was accused of making a Decree or Law contrary to former statutes. This accusation was called *ἰσχυροσύνη*, because the accuser swore that it was against the Lawes, or unjust, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. *Δουλοσύνη*, was an examination of the Magistrates whether they were fit to govern or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Lust, and Incontinency, whether they had not spent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their Parents, or led a life any otherways blameable, whereupon they were discarded the priviledges of the City, and not suffered to plead, or speak publicly. *Εὐθύνη*, An account of the publique offices borne, laying out of money, and dispatching Ambassages, made to the Tenne *Logistæ* (For the breach of which went out a Writ, *Ἀλλογίᾳ λόγον δίδόναι*, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. *Προβλή* an accusation against those who are ill-affected toward the Common-wealth, made by the decree of the people, and such as are well willers to the state. *Προβολαὶ* likewise are accusations against men injurious, *ἑξουβείωνται*, and such as are delinquent against their festivals, as the oration of *Demosthenes* against *Midias*. *Προμυσία*, An oath which the Accuser took that he would justly accuse. *ᾗ αὐτομυσία*, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. *Ἐξομυσία*, an oath of Ambassadors or men chosen for state service, that by reason of sickness they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they please. It is likewise the Oath of one called to witness, wherein he swears that he knowes nothing of the business. *Ἀνέμωσις*, when others shall swear that pretended weakness, was only a shift to put of the burthen of publique office which the State laid on them. *Ἰσχυροσύνη*, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the motioner, as above said, *παρρηγορεῖν*, & *παρρηγορεύειν*, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be such and such, & not as it is *ex: gr:* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is *ληϊπτοσύνη*, and I accuse him
of

u Lib. Arg.
Midianam.
q Ulpian in
Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit *ἀντιστάσις*, or objection of the time past, within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as willull Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell it was termed *ἀγρομήδης*. *Ἀντιγρομήδης*, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plaintiff in like manner. But if the defendant (I call *ἀντιγρομήδης* so) were cast, he paid *ἰσθμιαία*. *ῥ* *Μὴ ὄντα*, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri of a controversie, if *ῥ* Ulpian in he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, *Dem. 334.* and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in *ἑρέμῳ*, *Eremodicio*, and if he scorned to come, or were obstinate, he ought within ten daies to sue out *μὴ οὖσα*, wherein he re- proved the sentence and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state again. But if he could not obtain a *μὴ οὖσα*, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, & he was constrained to pay 1000 drachmes (as *ῥ* Ulpian) which was the mulct appointed by the law; for the *In Dem. p. 340.* discharge whereof he put in good security. *Ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκην*, When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined, as conscious of *Eremodicium*, and if within the space of two Months he did not renew the suit (which is *ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκην*) he was sure to pay the fine. *Ἐπισκέψασθαι*, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, and publickly sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the State would narrowly search into it, which thing they term *ἐπισκέψασθαι*. *Πρόσκλησις*, is a citing one before the *Archon* in controversie about the inheritance, or a Virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warn the defendant *ῥ* *ὁπότε δίκας μὴ ὄντα*, the suit dyed, and such actions are called *ῥ* *ἀπὸ πρόσκλητος δίκης*. *ῥ* *πρόκλητος*, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some witness, oath or confession extorted by torments, and the like. *Ἐπίσσις*, is appeal from one Court to

Dem. p. 913

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate again, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another Countrey. *Ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου* when there is no more fine laid upon a man than what his adversary did *ἐπὶ γέροντι*, write down at the lower end of his Inditement, of which custom somewhat hath before been spoken. *Βολίτου δίκην*, Against such as stole Oxe-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those that are put in the

* *Arist. Sch. p. 3.*

28. *Laert in vit.*

Court for trivial matters the Proverb *ἢ Βολίτου δίκην*, *Ἀλκιβίου* of impietie against their Gods as *Aristotle* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharenses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death, as on the contrary the accuser, if he got not the better. *ἐπὶ δόσις*, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * *ἀγροῖα*, If any

* *Dem. cont.*

Theocr. v. 7.

33. *n. 76, 77.*

owed to the City Treasury, and his name were registred, & before the discharge of the money his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta ἀγροῖα*, but if his name was never entered, he was prosecuted by an *ἐπιστάτης*. *Μεταλλοῦ* proper only to such as dealt in the Mines,

* *Dem. cont.*

Pant. p. 567

33. *n. 51, 52.*

like to *Stannaries* in the County of *Cornwall* my Countrey, and *Devonshire* her sister. * *Lyable* to this Court were they who should thrust any man from his work, who should digge within another mans liberties, who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Minerals by violence, who should kindle any fire in the Mines, &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to do was death, as *γ. Plutarch* tells us. There was likewise *ἀγροῖα κατάλλου* against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coin might com: to the publick Treasury. Now if any pre-

27 *In vitis Decem*

Rhet. p. 455.

sumed

sumed to work who had not made it known to the officers,
 it was lawful for any to accuse him ἀγέζυ μεταλλῶν Ἀγορῆς δ.
 About money put out to the money-changers, & For ἀγορῆ
 among the Atticks is the same that ὠθίον in the Lawyers of
 latter time, in *Jure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used
 ἀγορῆ for means and sustenance, ἀπεθελήεις τὸ ζῆν. Κα-
 τὰ δικαστῆς & κατὰ δικαστὴν have this difference, that ὁ κατὰ
 δικαστῆς is the Judge that gives sentence, κατὰ δικαστὴν is
 he that put in the controversie, to be the means that the
 sentence pass against the defendant. c. Ἀρεσιε is when a man
 deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge
 all; and therefore desires the People that a part thereof
 might be remitted.

z Argum
 Phorm. Orat.
 p. 554.

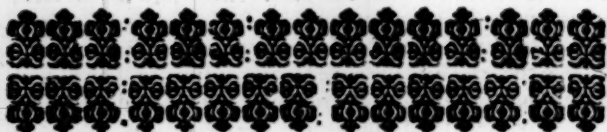
a Sch. Eurip.
 b Med. p. 368.
 Ulpian in
 Med. p. 368.

c Idem in Dem.
 p. 450.



LIB.





LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that rofe of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the service of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and the over favourable name of *ἱέρως* will ſufficiently teſtifie. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus*. *Οὐρανία* a *ſi diis placet* (a name better becoming one of the Muſes, *b* or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus Παιδνμοῦ*, which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning *Κάλλω ἑραῖον*, and *Κάλλω παιδνμον*. Δύο γὰρ ἔγωγε τοιζῶ καὶ ἀνθρώπους κάλλει πλανᾶσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἑραῖον, τὸ δὲ παιδνμον, ὥσπερ τὸ κάλλει αἱ χορηγοὶ δεῖσι. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἑραῖον ἀχθεταὶ τῇ θουῇ κάλλει δεικνύμενον, καὶ ζητῇ πρὸς ἑρατὸν ταχὺ φεύγειν. τὸ δὲ παιδνμον ὁρᾷται κατὰ τὸ ὑγχορίζει πρὸς τοῖς σωμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian; and a Biſhop ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But à *dverticulo*: The ſacrifices of the firſt Temple, were *Αγρότες*, with a little more ſtate and chaſtity than became her; but thoſe of the laſt, *ῥαδιουργότες*, as *caſie*, and as wicked as her ſelf,

a *Pausanias*.
b *ἑραῖα*, a
Play ſo called.

self: For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the *Karyatidæ*, ^c or the *Σαλῆν* (those *Kamalaia* ^c *Paufanias*. *Ἀφροδίτῃ*) for any other of the places abused to lust. Nay those *sinks*, ^d besides places for the purpose, that had *garments* also ^d *Cloacæ*: for the purpose, and flowers on the garments too, *Tá* *Ἀφροδίτῃ*, *floridas vestes*, apparel fit for such *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her service the *Athenians* are said to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Assyrians*, *Fidenpenes Authorem sit*. ^e *Cœl. Rhod.* The fashion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman (to shew she had a place in the *Ditches* too *s* as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd lust to either of the Sexes) inſomuch that many have been scrupulous whether they should call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for there is ^f *Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinctos* ^f *Juven. Sat. 2.* one that says,

—Pollentemque *Deum Venerem*. Which *Macrobius* himself commends for the best, and therefore in *Virgil*, *Æn. 2. v. 632.* reads

Discedo, & ducente Deo flammas inter & hostes

Expedior—and not *Dea*, and so *Aristophanes* calls her *Ἀφροδίτηρ*, in the masculine gender. But, now this makes more work, and therefore (to plaister two walls with one potfull ^a *Philochor* of plaistring) they made it a custom, *ei sacrificium* facere viros cum veste muliebri, Mulieres cum virili Quod eadem & Mas,* ^b *Macrobius.* & *fœmina estimarentur*, for the men to sacrifice to her in women's apparel and women in mens. If it be so, you may say *Aphrodisus* for *Hermaphrodisus*, if you please. I read of no such thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the ^g *Poet* (because she was such a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddess with a *ἄνδρ*; as *Theocritus* ^h does *Hecate*, with *ἰδὺς* *in rebus* an appellative of the masculine gender. Nor is it enough that the Mother is thus religiously wooed and adored, but the blind pauntry Boy will be crying for a Temple too. And if

Hic

Her due be a Cow, certainly *Hu* cannot be less, that a *Calf*, neither was it.

Πῶς ποτὶν ἔργον ἢ αὐτῇ Βῦν Ἀρεσθίη,

says *Theocritus*: and *Amori Litari* to sacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Methinks he might have been content to sit still in his Mothers Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraict by *Zenxer*, and crowned with flow-ers) and have soard * with his wings no higher. But the Temple of *Epas* and *Antipus* in the way to the Academy, and the famous title of ἱδρυθεῖς, do more than whisper what cause he had to be so proud, and how amorous, his People has been.

* *Alatus*.

C A P. II.

De Pæderastia.

TO omit the *Τεισάδες* and the Abominations of the Wo-men one with another, changing τὴν εὐκλήν ἢ χυλὴν, εἰς τὴν τεχνητὴν the natural use into that which is against nature, give me leave to speak a little of their *παιδεύσεις*, or *μισό-μιτου*, and the *ἁρμοσύνη*, & practised by Men upon their own Sex. The first that ever taught

— *Amorem* —

In teneros transferre mares —

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the Roman was, *Lippis & Tonforibus* notum. And for the Greeks, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the Persians deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough to believe, when I read those words of *Cornelius Nepos*, *Lamæ in Græcia ducitur adolescentulum, quam plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and those concerning *Alciades* in another. *Invenisse adolescentiâ amatus est à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himself afterwards was more than *Pathicus*, in that double *Capparengery* as well as *m Pausanias*, or *n Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* * *Señaries*. The Grecians (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Aristot.* say true, made a Law for toleration of it. The *o Megarenses* had

1 Initio lib. de
Excell. Imp.
m *Amil. Prob.*
* *Plato* in *Symp.*
n *Socratici*
xiv. c. 1. c.
o *Atheniens.*

had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kiss sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis onustus*; only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedemonians* & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay p *Ælian* p L. 3. Var. (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies Σπαρτιάτης ὃ ἀπὸς Αἰχμῆν ὄν ὀϊσιν, but how true that is, I know not, I am sure their τὸ ποι-δὲς and οἱ Παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι, tell in plain song. what they loved: though I confess I have found no such seats among them, as that of q *Achilles* in Murdering *Troilus* for refusing to q *Lycodh.* submit to his lust. One word more and I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick of r *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of ἠστυλά or ἠστυλά or rather ἠστυλῆς, as *Callimachus* hath it. Inque vices fuerat captatus angelitus oris.

Μίμνετο δ' ἠστυλῆς ὅτι οὕτως Κύριος.

By which word (saith the *Etymological Dictionary*) is denoted ὁ ὡς τὸ ἔρω or (or rather ἔρω) ἠστυλῆς, one inspired, shall I say, or beloved; for so signifieth the word at *Sparta* (viz.) to love a boy so perdit, as to blow in his lower end, (as we say) to spit in his mouth, or give him *Mansum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔρωσι καὶ ἠστυλῆς. Λακεδαιμονίᾳ δ' ὅτι ἡ φωνὴ ἔρω δὴν λέγουσι, and so *Hesychius* saies of ἠμυνῶν too, ἠμυνῶ μὴ, ἔρω μὴ, ποδεῖ μὴ. This was all (as he saies) or (as I say) it ought to have been all; for a man may love his house well enough, though he do not ride upon the ridge. However, I must confess they had so much care still of the *Commonwealth*, notwithstanding their private pleasures, as not to give a voice to one whom they knew to be guilty of so much *Mollities*, as to scratch his head with one finger. Insomuch that if any had sued for an Office to give a testimony of his virtue and manlike disposition, he was fain to lift up his arms, and shew his hair in his Arm-pits.

Χειρὸς ὡς ἡ γυνή.

Εξουσιαστικὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ βραχίονι. saies *Aristophanes*.

And good reason for this practice, for,

Dura per brachia seta

Promittunt atrocem animum — saies *Perseus*. And

f Apud *Aristoph.*

therefore the Woman f that desired to be taken for a Man, thought this the best Argument she could use

— πῶς οὐκ ἂν γ' ἔχοι τὴν μαχαλαίαν

Ἀρχαῖος δὲ αὐτῶν.

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to seem, as they were, effeminate, used the same tricks which the Romans are said to have used (for which service they had their *Spurcarius*, or *allipillarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as smooth as thy could.

But I have said too much of so odious a Love, as should not indeed be named among us. I will now proceed to speak of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelam* in t *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis verum exordis sexuum diversitatem generato amore feciavit*, as u *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

t *Achil. Tat.*
lib. 2.

u *Metam.* l. i. r.

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen first they listd themselves into the service (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemn business, as to be formally initiated like so many Priests.

* *Achil.* l. 2.
x *Eustath.* l. 5.
y *Loco* ante
laudato.

As *Ἰσμενίας* ἀπεστήναι μυστηριώδη : saies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe*. *Ἐνὶ οὐ βιβλῷ καταμνησθῆναι* & ἔρωτα, saies *Ismenias* x to his Mistress, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, y *Litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos*.

z *Hieroglyphicis.*

Well, it seems *Venus* had her x *μυστήρια* too, as well as *Ceres*, for her Priests, though they were not under an enjoyned silence, as the others were, yet the greatest part of their tattle was under the Rose.

Conscius

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Indiciis.

NOW to know whether such an one were in Love or not (though they say, *Love and the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a Feast, they took special notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we use to do of the Garter, making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soon of the reason, for *1 Athenæus* saies it hath been a riddle a thousand years before his time, & propounded at their merry meetings, *ἴδεν ἄνθρωπος στήθεσιν ἑσθ' ἀνέλεγεσθαι*, and he himself hath served up no less than eight other reasons: but I know never a one better than another to give you a tast. Another signe that they were in love was the *sinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho*, *ἐομβεβύκε δ' ἄκραι μιν*, and *Catullus*,

----- *Sonitu sompiti*

Timinant aures, ----- To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they took a leas (whether of *Poppey*, or what it was I know not) they called it *πλάγιον quasi δαλίριον* *ἐπὶ τῷ δαλῶσαι τ' ἐπὶ τῷ*) and putting it on the forefinger and the thumb of the left hand (as our children use to do with us) struck it with the right. It it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not a sigh, out alas!

* *Οὐδ' αὖ τὸ δαλίριον ποτε μαστίζοντες πλανήσουσι*, saies *Theocritus Idyll. 3*. So at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long stick in the ground with another upon it (in the fashion of the cross Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales stood a couple of Bowls filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brass, gilded and called by the name of *Mimes* (once the name of a Servant) now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his

1 Lib. 15.
Deipnos.

m *Aristoph.*
Schæm Pace.

n *Id. in Avibus.*

his phial of Brass (τὸν κῆραβον) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he listed, with a sudden turn of the hand (ἀνέσταν they call it, and thence Κῆραβος ἀνέσταντοι) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown, they called ἀνέσταν from ἀνέστη, the *klat* or the sound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could do this so well, as to make his scale sink, and strike the image hardest on the head (εἰ μὴν χυθῇ τὸ ὄνον, so that some of the Wine leapt out upon him, saith the Scholiast) presumed presently upon the love of his Mistress, and had his Κόραβιον or his Cake (the usual reward of victory in most of their Playes) for his labour, sometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flash, it was counted as lucky for a Lover, as the *crack of the leaf*. Thus to drink and play, they called Κοῆσιζεν (as Κῆραβος was the name of the cup and the play too) and seldom a drinking match without it.

Ἐστῶ δὴ Κοῆσιζεν

Συβαρίζην

ἰὲ ἰὲ κεκοῖται

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gambol they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turn'd it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speak more of Κῆραβος, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it suffice only to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times according to that of *Callimachus*.

Πολλοὶ δὲ φιλοῦντες, ἀέστυον ἥσαν ἕως

Οἶνον ποτῶν Σικελίας ἐν κυλικῶν λάτῳ.

De Phæris & Incantamentis.

De Phæris & Incantamentis.

BUT what if she could not be wooed over by fair means: was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a juggling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and work upon that, according to the Nurses advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolytus*.

Euripides
Hipp. v. 512.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illuces oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a fascination, *ἐθαυμάριον* *ὀφθαλμοῦ* *ἀνθρώπου*, he threw a sheeps eye at her (saith

* Lib. 4.

* *Heliodorus*) The Proverb that Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the Door, may not absurdly be understood of the Eyes, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls *θύρας τῆς ψυχῆς*, the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way and the passage by which the two loves go in and out. *ἐθαυμάριος* *ὁ* *ὀφθαλμὸς*, saith *Museus*: or if you will the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart.

* Lib. 3.
* in Epist.
* Oculi sunt in
amore duces

ὀφθαλμοῦ *ἀνθρώπου* *ἐν* *ἐρωτῇ*, saith * *Eustathius*, and so * *Lucian* makes the sight the first step * in *Cupid's* ladder of Love. To try therefore what this card could do, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter *οἰνοποῖν* to fill drink to the Stranger: (as *Sesthenes* commanded his Daughter to do to *Ismanias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she drank, to be sure to drink at the same, according to that of the * Poet

* Ovid. de
Arte Am. l. 1.

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis

Pocula; quaque bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forsooth

Forsooth they thought thus to have a *kisse mediata* at the second hand wasted over in the cup *εὐκλειπὸν κίσσημα*, *Aristarchus* calls it not to *kiss* the cup, but *cup the kisse*.

Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert iurata labris

Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse,

Περὶ αὐτῆς ἐκείνῃ τῇ κούρῃ τὰς ἑὸν κίσσημα. Such a kisse they used to call *κίσσημα* (*missum osculum*, or a kisse conveyed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* do. And by this time they have seen whether they can do any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will try what they can do with the Tongue, by *enchanting songs and tales*: or by the Hand, with *Gifts*, and *Philtres*: in *δύο μὲν αὖτις κίσσημα* in *ἑὸν κίσσημα*, *ἑὸν κίσσημα*, says *Xenophon*: *ὡς* more especially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *passerculus*; the last is most likely because of its salacity) whose tongue they made use of to such purposes, putting it under the knap of her Ring with the paring of her nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for such a naughty Bird; for having been formerly a woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Eccho* saies *Callimachus*) because she bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name, and of a making very suitable to her former condition, and the uses for which she serves. For (according to the *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck and tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail; and punished she is enough for her Roguery; for (besides that way I told you of before) sometimes they ty'd her *ἐν τῷ τροχῷ* to a wheel (as I think) and charmed a charm as they whirled it round; sometimes (at least the entrails) to a *τροχῷ* of wax, causing, both together to consume in the fire, But what will you say, if all this while it be nothing but an instrument pleasantly turn'd and play'd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used

* Nem Od. 4.
vid. Theoc. Phar.
macea. Lufistrate
prope finem.

used for any pleasant thing or inticement. ἰώγγι ἱακουαὶ ἡρῶ
saies* Pindar, of any other Magical Love toy, such as Ungues
muscles, wreathed fillets; hair, and bands of twisted wool;
and divers other gambols of the same bran according to that
which I have seen of *Lalins* an ancient Poet.

*Trochiscili, Ungues, tanla
Aurea, Illibes bitortila.*

* not σεπτόν.
* περί πατάμ.

With no stronger chains than those of *twisted Wool* (* *σεπτόν*
ἱερὸν * *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been
bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather
believe that all the Gods had *lanceas pedes*, woollen feet, as the
proverb saies they had, than that any of them should have
Lanceas pedicas, woollen fetters. And yet that dull and lazie
old dotard, could be content to lie fast in those bands all
the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his li-
berty, because of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therefore calls
Saturni compedem exolutum: I refer you for the reason to *Ma-
crobius Saturn. l. 1. c. 8*. Though I believe they intended no-
other than a Magicall tie upon the affection of the party.
Yet they seem to have made use of *Wool*, rather than any
other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind
of matters, for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was
made of wool, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules*, or a *True-
Lovers* knot, not to be untied but in the *Genial-bed*. Then
the doors of the *Bride-house*, and the posts of the doors,
were bound about with woollen filletings, and the Wife
was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they
used this *πλεκτόν ἱερὸν* I cannot tell, whether they put
it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according
to that,

* Theocrit.
Pharmacen.

* *Στίχας τὸν καλίσαν πορνικῶν οἷς αὐτῶν.*

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way.
Burthum much I have observed of their ordinary practises
in such Rogueries (too common with the women in these
times) that what ever was done to the things which they
used

used, they imprecated the same, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to represent. Thus a *Althea* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tied up ^{a Ovid. Me. lib. 8. fab. 4.} *Alcmena's* womb, *Digitis inter se pectine junctis*. I know not how. Thus *c Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his love, would have scattered his bones ^{b Ovid. Met. lib. 9. fab. 5.} in the meal, burnt his flesh in the Bay, melted him away in the Wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen Bowl, and have killed him with kindness. Every one of which practises was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the Moon for successe, as things that were fit to be done neither by day, nor above ground. Infinite more were the tricks they used to make a man to love them, such as *d Philostratus* ^{d Lib. 3. E. 68.} speaks of in his *Epistles*, τὸ ὕψικον καὶ κηρί, καὶ τὸ ταχυτερον, καὶ ἐπερμι δρεν, καὶ αὐτὰ χρυσὰ πίδα, καὶ οὐδὲν, καὶ αἰσχυρά, καὶ αἰδὸς ἐξήματα. The κηρί's may be thought to be the *Cetrissa*, τὸ ταχυτερον, otherwise ταχυρον, or ταχυτερον, *Mul-* ^{e Pollux.} *ricia*, or *Bombycea*, a kind of *diaphanis ἱνδύμα*, or a garment that hid the body so that it might be seen, *lucet sic per Bombycina corpus*, sayes *f Martiall*, such Women used it.

g Quæ tenni sudant in cyclade, quarum Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.

It had the name *δμ' τῆς Ταχυτερον χρίτης καὶ τρυφῆς*, saith *b Pol-* ^{f Lib. 3. Ep. 6.} *lux*. *Επερμι δρεν*, are like to be *σαῦρα Lacerta*, such as she ^{g Juvenal. Sat. 6.} in *Theocritus* would have used in a potion, but I had rather ^{h lib. 7. c. 17.} take them for the *δρεν* worn about the wrists καὶ καρπῶν: ^{i Arist. lib. Petulans, ma-} and the golden fetters I suppose to be stronger than wool- ^{i Arist. lib. didumque Ta-} len. But besides all these, there was *μυλοβολῶν*, seats to be ^{i Arist. lib. 1. Ep. 10.} done by the throwing of an Apple. *Cydonium malum* I mean, reported to grow in the garden of *Venus*, and used at Wed- dings (as shall be shewn hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was sitting in the Temple of *i Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Ap- ple with this Inscription, *Μὰ τῷ Ἀκοντίῳ γαμήμα*, or *i Ep. 10.* if you had rather have the Latine,

Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Diane,

Me tibi venturam comitem sponsamque futuram.

* Ovid. Met.
l. 10 fab. 11 k. A
rist. lib. 1. op. 25.
1 Achil. Tat.
l 5. Thessala
vendit Phil-
tra. Juvenal.

m Corias apud
Tat. l. 4. n Sue-
tonius.

* Ovid. Met.
l. 13 fab. 9.

And so made her think shee took, when she did but read the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes* drew back *Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a peice, and threw it, it was enough: which made *k Philenis*, being jealous of her sister *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peice of Apple in her lap. The *l* women of *Thessalie* are especially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he sayes) *μαλίστην ἔπος, ὡς ἐμὴ περὶ ἐτέρας ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ποτὶ κλίσιν γυναικα, &c.* And so for the women of *Egypt* (I think the sex hath still the Monopoly of Magick) however the *Egyptian* m Souldier came to mistake in the *Dosis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the potion. For instead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Casonia* did her Husband *Caligula* with an *Hippomanes*. Those *φίλητα*, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of such herbs as disposed the body to Venerie, such as the *παρολίς* (rendered *Pastinaca*) called by way of excellency, *τὸ εὐλογον, ὅτι διεσπένδον εἰς τὰ κατ' Ἀφροδίταν*, sayes *Enstathius*. *Plutarch* (if I mistake not) in his *ταμιὰ διαγρίματα*, expresse his dislike of these courses. But what ? was there never a way to *unwish* the party again ? (for I heard of some that can do this who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit Physick (as *Leucippe* did) or by washing it away in the River *Solemnis*, as (*Pausanias* says) they used to do in *Achaia*; or else by Sacrifices or Charms, according as they imagined the cause. Whence those words of the * Nurse to *Myrrha* incited by the furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

*Sen Furo est; habeo quod Carmine sanet, & herbis;
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico lustrare ritu:
Ira Deum sive est, sacris placabimus iram.*

C A P. VI.

De Usitato more significandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a natural heate (as indeed the Soul is naturally inclined * *ὅσπερ αὐθιγόνει, καὶ ἀποθιγόνει, καὶ μηλωτοῦν*, * *ἔτω καὶ φιλεῖν*, * *Plutarch Solon*; to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Grecian Women had of their Sweet-hearts. Inſomuch, that if you call to mind ſome of their choiceſt expreſſions thereof (eſpecially that of *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving * *In viſa Theſe*; the definition given by ſome of the old Philoſophers, who ſaid that it is, *θιγὼν ὑπηρεσίᾳ τοῦ ἐπιούρου καὶ συνελατῶν*. Notto tell you, that ſometimes they ſent a wooing to the men, pray take but a taſte of their cuſtomes in this particular of expreſſing their love: To trim up their bodies as they did their *συνή* ^a with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up ^{*Euſtath. Iſm*} *Garlands* at their doors (or τὰ *εἰώματα* the parts of the houſe expoſed to ſight when the doors were open, *ἐνδομὸν ἐν-κα* *καὶ τὰ παρόντων*, ſayes *Hefychius*) was an ordinary careſſe, though indeed (as *b Atheniens* ſayes) they intend it chiefly ^{*b L. 15.*} to the honour of *Ερως*. τὸ μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ ἐρωτικῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὰ τε γὰρ ἐνταὶ τῷ εἰκονῇ στήθεσιν, as making the body of a Sweet-heart the Image, and his houſe the Temple of Love. The tokens they uſually ſent were *Garlands* and *Rofes*, τὰ *στεφάνια* μοι καὶ τὰ *πέδα* πέμψου (ſayes *Petala* to *Simoleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) ſometimes bitten pieces of Apples, *μήλα* *κατορθοῦμεθα* (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with thoſe expreſſions in faſhion among the Romans, when they ſate at Table, viz. leaving drink in the cup, and giving morſels of meat, ſuch as *c Martial* would have *Pontia* ſend ^{*c L. ep. 7.*} him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or ſuch as *d Ovid* ^{*d Amor. 4. 1. El. 4.*} ſpeaks of,

Si tibi forte dabit, quos praguſtaveris ipſe,

X 2

Rejice

glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do: but no wonder they did as they did, having a copy written to them by Nature (for

---- *Inscripti nomina rerum*

Nascuntur flores ----) and an example given them by Apollo himself, who when he turned *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his memory alive, when he was dead & not contented with that,

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribis, & Ai, Ai,

Flos habet inscriptum ----

*Ovid. Met. Lib.
10. Fab. 5.*

Thus was the memory of Ajax preserved, and one half of his name, as the same Author hath it.

Litera communis mediis puer oque viroque

Inscripta est foliis: hac nominis, illa querela?

Lib. 13. fab. 1.

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unless there were written a *Κῆρος καλὸς* besides upon the same flower.

Νῦν Τάκινθι λάλησ' ἐπὶ σὲ γράμματα, ἔ' πλεον Αἰ Αἰ,

Λέμεθα σοῖς πταλαῖσι, καλὸς τέστινα μελικτὴς.

καλὸς for him, and *καλὸν* for her was sure to be written, for never seem'd a *Mistress's* soul and *Prison* fair. But for her part if she were *κυθόστρον*, or had black eye-brows she was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregory Nyssen*, ἡ ὀφθαλμοῦ *Theocrit.* μέλαιναν περικχυμένων τῷ ὄματι, insomuch that *Jul. Pollux* says, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς to black them: or if she were somewhat big of stature; and therefore *Aristotle* in his *Rhetorick* puts τὰ μέγιστα, as part of the *Αρετὴ* τῶν γυναικῶν, as he doth ποσότης καὶ φιλοργία, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times esteemed to be the πρῶτον καλόν of a man I know not. It seems in *Aristotle's* time it was counted most commendable, τὸ πρὸς τὴν πύκνιν χρῆσιν ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τὴν περὶ τὸν ὄφθαλμον ἡτέροις ἢ ἑαυτῇ ἰδὲν ὅτι ἰδὲν πρὸς ὑπὸ λανθάνει. But I have talk'd too long

long of Love, or of Robin-hood, that never shot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for casting away so much oyle and labour upon such a Subject, and (it may be) give Seneca Ep. 115. his censure, that *Oratio est vultus animi*. But those that know me will distrust his Physiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am in, I will not stick, but *propere sequi quæ piget inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptials themselves.

* Tacit.

C A P. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unless the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or *καυλή ἀμφοκίζουσα*, but a sower grape (as *Eustathius*) and not yet ripe *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed and yoked together. The man did in the presence of witnesses, promise himself after the manner of the Latine form, *se sponsam post concubitum invitam non deserturum*, and so gave her one *μυστήριον* or other in earnest: but the woman she was *desponsata*, promised or bestowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promises of a Woman were false enough to make the saying among the *French* to be true.

*Qui femme croit & a se mesme,
Son corps ne sera ia sans peine.*

And yet (it seems) though they feared she might break a promise, they thought an oath to be strong enough to hold her: For sometimes at the consummation of the business, they went both into the Temple, & there engaged themselves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practise of *Clisthophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Isis*, where the man swore *ἀγαπήσειν ἀδελῶς*, and the woman *ἀνδρα ποιήσασθαι, ἢ γυναῖκα ἀποφῆναι διαπέμψω*. I do not remember that the *Athenians*

Minis had that good fellows trick of the *Galatians*, to made a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charitatis* & to pledge their troth in a cup, a trick by which ^a *Camma* is reported to have poysoned *Synoris* (whom she pretended to Marry for kissing her Husband. Or that they used the custom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a sword, related by ^b *Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman* consecration, if they had. The rites usually observed at a wedding are said ^c to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of the ^d *Virgin*; Besides this, before she can cease to be of the *herd* to the *αὐτῶν* * *αὐτῶν*, take heed, * *Minerva* so *Great Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf, never yet married in the *yok*, (and so the fitter for the maid that gives, and the maid that takes) and a crop of her hair: besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

ε Μόρσις αὐτῶν γαυρ, αὐτῶν μοῖν χεῖρ
ἀρτίαι δὲ.

e Euripid. in
Iphigen. And-
versu 11, 12.

And therefore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband,

ἴτερόν κεν ἴδω πῶς δὲ ἔσεται δῖα,

f Ibid. v. 7. 11

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, she had not so much to do as to be a sacrifice to *Diana* the Goddess of *Aulis*, and to be made a Calf her self: When as our Woman, it will serve her turn to *εὐνοῖαν* to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginity*; that is, give her in a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curious needle-work or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose: *ἄρτιαι μὲν γαυρ* -- That she would not take it amiss if she married. But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the *εὐνοῖαν*, there were others as solemn as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddess. The man.

g Theocr. Id. 27.

manner of them, and the occasion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Bear growing tame, came and lived in the *Stoa* of the *Phlavidæ*, insomuch that at length a little girl durst go so far and so near, as to play with it, but the Bear quickly grew to be in earnest, and drew her blood for the *stake*; whereupon one of her Brothers shot the Bear and killed it. Presently after this there happened a very great Pestilence in the City; and the Oracle being sought unto, answer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they must make a decree, that every girl in the City of *Athens*, sometime or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a *νεκρῶς* or Saffron colour garment, do offer and devote her self to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girl thus consecrated, was her self called *ἀρκτος* the * Bear, and the action *ἀρκτία* and *ἀρκτιών* to play the Bear (which methinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes *ἀρκτιών*, because commonly they deferred it till the last year, as she did in a *Lenisstrate*,

* *Ηαρποκρ.*a *Αριστοφ.*

Εἴ τ' ἀλκιῶν ἢ δακτύλις

Οὐδ' αὖ ἀρκυίτις

Καταχίτων κροκωτὴν ἐν Βερεναίοις.

a *Athen. l. 6.*

Εν *Βερεναίῳ* she says, because it was to be done in the Feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth of *Munichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who *a* is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (in *Attica*) says that Image of hers which *Sphigeneia* brought from the *Tauvi*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, insomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* ^b *Brauronia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can see, she need not have been so scrupulous for displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, and was therefore called by the name of *ἄρκυς*, saith *c* *Enstakhin*; or else (according to the Scholiast upon *d* *Aristophanes*)

b *Pausan. in Arcad.*c *Αἰόλ. γ.*d *in Plut.*

Att. 3. Sc. 3.

Strophanes (quasi σχιδῶν ἄρῶν τὰς δύο φύσεις ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ὃ τῷ μητρὶ, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *Knowledge* and in the way of a certain couple) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But some again say he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures: in the upper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as he says (in *Vespia*)

Ὀκίαντες θεὸς ἀναξ τὰ περὶ τοδῶν δρακοντῶν.

And others, because of the many excellent *Laws* which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd & civiliz'd the brutish conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he seem'd to have *new moulded* them, and made them of another nature; in the sense, that the *Stones* have been said to be turn'd into Men, and the *Trees* into Lovers of Music. Of all the reasons that are given, I like that best, which likes *e Rhodiginus*, who says, he was called by this name, because the children did now appear to be διπλῆς, come of two, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μονοφυῆς, the Sons of a Mother only; nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be εἰσποῦν, or put out to nursing to Bears and Wolves and the like. But enough of this, for I have more work for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the past, and in special manner to *Junno γαμήλια*, either as a *Pronuba* for the present, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater familias* (as he in a *Plautus* calls her) for the future. ^{a In Amphit.} An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their ^{Al. 2. Sc.} Gods, when they chang'd their condition, and I should be glad if *we Christians* could answer, not *guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, &c. (as *Aristotle* says in his ^{b Ethicks}) to have a new *Summum Bonum* ^{b Lib. 1. c. 4.} every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Junno* went under the several names of προγάμεια, προτίλεια, and στυγίλεια εὐχαῖ, ἡγετίλεια, and γαμήλαιοι δ' εὐχαῖ, indeed the two first

first are sometimes the same that *προβολα*, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word *προτέλεια* is used also sometimes in relation to others as well as to *Junno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Enripides* already cited. And therefore in another (c) place of the same Tragedy, you have the *Greek* Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking;

Ἀχιλλεύς πρὸς Πηλεΐδην τὴν Νάυαδα

Αὐλίδῃ ἀνδρῶν τίς νῦν ἄξιται πόπῃ.

(d) *Jul. Pol.*
l. 3. c. 3.

And so sometimes to the (d) *Parca*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spard*, or to spin out their lives to the longest. But yet *Junno* (I think) was in a great deal more request among Lovers, than any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouths. For among the *Latines*, when they would express themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Junno*, as the old dotard does his *Casina* in the Poet * by the name of *Junno*.

* *Plaut. in*
Casina Act. 1.
Sc. 3.

Eja mea Junno, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo Jovi.

Add hereunto the title of *Ἡγερταία*, (as there is also *Χαῖρ* *τίλειθ*) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word *προτέλεια*) must be so said, either from *τίλειθ* anciently put for *γάμος* (as *πλεῖστω* was for *γαμῶντι*) from whence comes *τίλειον* both the Sacrifice and the day, or from *προτελεῖν* to initiate, or from *τίλειος* *adultus*, as if onely such as were of age (& *ἐν βίῃ παλαιοῖ*) * might be suffered to have the happiness to marry. Now *Junno adulta* and *Jupiter adultus* were the more religiously worshipped at such a time as *ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς* *ἢ γάμων* (says *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner the *Prytanei* and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of cry about sacrifices, but you'll say the *Wool* is to come: onely some *σπενδαὶ* there must be, lest any Roman should grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponsa*. Now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of them. The gifts called

* *Aristotle.*

called by *Demosthenes*, γαμνλῖα, was that which they sent to the *θεσπορίαι* for the making of a Feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called ἔδνα (as they did also those which they gave when they went a voing) But the ἔδνα & χατῶν was a garment bestowed upon the Husband by the wife (giving of apparel was very usual once both with the Jew (a) & the Gentile, and you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she gave a Cake to him that had a Pasty in the Oven; for if she brought her τέρναι, she had her ἐπιτέφου to carry away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be given her self: for else (it may be) before it was come thus far, she might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme que donne s'abandonne*, *shee that gives is soon gotten*. The petty gifts then given by the Parents they call'd μετῖλια, ἐπιμετῖλια, as were those which were given after the Wedding. The dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, περὶξ: that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπιπερὶξ. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be too free of their distinctions.) At her first coming to her husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her Friends τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was also the name of the day it self) otherwise called θαύρητες, ὀπίησια, ἀθρήματα and προσδογλήσια, and all for the same reason viz. because those gifts were given, *ut illa pateretur se videri*, saies (b) *Victorius*: to make her take off her vail, & be seen; in such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Phœnissæ*.

Τὴ δὲ ποτα Κερυίδης δ' ὤρεν πέρε Περσεφονί,
 Εὐ γὰρ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὁπ' αὐήσασθαι ἔμελλεν
 Νομοδίδ' σπείρειν περὶ Ἀλίνου καλὸν ὄφελος.

Κάλυπτον saies he, or καλύπτειν according to *I. Pollux*: for although

though she might now shew her face, and be modest nevertheless, yet *before*, she stood behind a red vail or hood, with which she hid her self, and so deserved the name of *ἡμεῖς* if it were for nothing else a but for that. This *Luteous* vail is otherwaies called *iavri*, in Latine *Flammenum*, a in Heb. *חֲמִצָּה* such a thing as *Rebecca* had when she met with her Husband, *Gen* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing. c. 38, 19. The reason why they were not unveiled till they came to be *coveri Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Carilans* (cited by *b Cal. Rhodiginus*) delivered *vail'd* under these words *ὅτι τὸς ἄνδρ' ἡρώς ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δῶ, τὸς ὕμνους αὐτῶν τὸς ἔχοντες*, the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custom though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great aime when I say, *Aucta fuga forma est* — (as *Ovid* saies of *Pennis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I express my self in the words of *Nonnus*.

Καὶ πλὴν ἡμῖν καὶ λυπομένη το σπασσένου.

Men long to see a face that's hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀνταλυσθήσῃα, very handsomely answered to put it off, *ἐκταλυσθήσῃα μὲν ἢ πιαυτῶ λαμβάνων*, I had more need to give her somewhat to let her vail alone, unless she were better than she is. Whether these *Flaminea* were of the same making that their ordinary *ᾠήλαα* were, I cannot well tell; but if they were (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of (a) *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, *Εὐὰ ὃ λυθὼν ἔμμε δὲ καλυμμάτων Εἴχο* —) then I must tell you they were so thin that their faces might well have been discovered; and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it seems, could see the flowers through them.

a See another reason in *Prov.* 3. 19. a *Jav. Sat.* 2.

b L 13. 46.

als *Ant.* v. 372.

b *Emp.* *Hel.* v. 150.

b O: *μολοιες*
Δρισμῖναι πω πῖπλιν
Πόδια πῖπλιν —

But

But this may be easily answered; for as (you know) a mountain that is a far off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between, so again, one man is able to see another plainly thorow that which is sufficient to hide *himselfe*. And so much for the gifts at present, perchance you may have more anon. Now the custome was for the Bride to be carryed from her (παρθένον) Chamber to her Husband in a Coach or some such kind of thing, which the poor Girle in the * Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could term little better than being ferried in *Charon's* boat.

*Id. in *Tamiris* v. 370. &c.

Αἰεὶ Ἀχιλλεύς ὡς ἄρ', ἐχ' ὁ πηλείων
Ὅ μοι περὶ πᾶσι πόνον ἐν ἀρμάτων δ' ὄχοις
Εἰς αἰμάτων γάμον ἐπερήμεύσας δόλῳ.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peleus's* son
You would me then have married,
When me to bloody Nuptials
In Coach and Fraud you carried..

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather so much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for *Helen* himself.

Λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ', ὅς τ' ἐπὶ τοῦτοιοις
Ἰσποιοις προχέζον, παρέσταν σὺ δ' ἐν δίφῳ
Σὺν τῷ ἢ θυμῷ μ' ἐλατύνει ὕλαϊον.

Id. in *Hel.* v. 728

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explains the custome so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called ἀρμάτων μέλῳ from, ἄρμα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as soon as they came to the Bridegrooms door, *ut signarent illam ibi perpetuo mansuram, neque inde ulla tempestate recessuram*; to shew that the was never to return from thence again: just as *William* the Conqueror burnt his ships at *Pevensey*, that so his Souldiers seeing their return to be desperate, might Fight the more desperately (as we use to say) or with the better courage. The θυμωγῶνδε, θυμωδῆς, or *Ἰάνυμῳ* that was

a In Homer. ill. β.
b L. 3. c. 5.

a Eurip. An-
drom. v. 147.

b Jm. l. 10
c L. 3. Met.
d Sat. 9.

was sent to fetch her, either fate by his side in the same Coach, or else went along by her *Coaches* side in another, & was therefore called *ῥαίεσχος*, from *ῥαίεσθαι*; unless that she were either *willing*, or *constrain'd* to foot it; for then he could be but *ῥαμναίης* a *Pedee*. This custome for the husband to lead his wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his *second Marriage*, for then (saies a *Enstathius*) ὁ δὲ γαμνιστὴρ (ὁ γαμνιστὴρ saies b *Pollux*) ἢ ῥαμνιστὴρ μάλιστα, he might not do it himself, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former wife were dead, as it may be I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the *ῥαμνιστὴρ*, or the *Brideman*, & some of her own friends, there went along with her a *ῥαμνιστὴρ*, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her vaile, & dress, & undress, and do other such offices as should be required. Her *Wedding Ornaments* were pretious stones & jewels, especially about her bed, such as a *Hermione* had in the Tragedy. Κοσμὸν μὲν αὐτὴ ἀμὲν κρατὶ χρυσέας χαλιδῆς. Her *Wedding Garment* was all of purple save in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else) ἐν δὲ τῇ ταύτῃ ἀλλοιὸν ἰδῶσιν. ἢ χρυσὴ ἢ περὶ χρυσὸν ὡς; and there was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*,

Οὐ ποτὶ ἔργῳ ἰδῶσιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ χρυσῶν ἀγασσίνης.

Who never yet the Works of Golden *venus* knew.

I think I might venter upon this custome to interpret *ἡ δὲ πορφυρεὴ ἢ παρθενίας* (in b *Enstathius*) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doors all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obsita*, saies c *Apuleius*: it seems they carryed not till d *Juvenals* time

— *Foribus suspende Coronas*

Iam pater es—

Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the *House*, for she herself had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achilles*.

thers house, she was to be lifted out over the threshold, just as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a constraint. You see, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almost every where, and yet they say, that *Love will Creep where it cannot go*. As she entred into her
a Arist. in Pluto. Husbands house, the a Boyes and Maids fell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *sycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulness* *ἡ δὲ μέλαι σπυρίδιον*, (says *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a foolish custome once in fashion with some of us, *viz.* upon *Twelf-Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toasted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and so to cry *Whaisayle*, and sing a *Carmen* for a fruitful year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called *εὐταχύσματα*, as the word is used by the Poet in his Comcedy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon him, and so to give him the *Joy* for his new bought eyes; says she

— — Κομίσου καταχύσματα

ὡς περ γενήτοισιν ἐν δαίμοσι ἐγώ.

Upon which words the Scholiast notes it to have been the custome also for a new servant, at his first coming into the house, to have him to the fire side, and there to *sew* upon his head *καλὰς, ἰσχυράς, φοινίκας*, Junkets, and Figs, and Palm-branches, and a hundred other such trinkets. But this I think was done, not onely as he sayes, *ὡς εὐνοίας σπυρίδιον*, to make it an *omen* of fruitfulness (as they had done to his Master before) but also for the benefit of the old Servant, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) do the *Freshmens Gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but some *beast* or other was bestowed upon them for a *viſtime*. In the cutting of it up (to shew that in Wedlock all bitterness and choller must be cast aside) they took the a Gall, and flung it with a most eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice.

if there happened any thing *obscure* or unlucky, the Nuptials were dissolv'd, and thus it happened to *b Clisophon*, and *Calligone*, for an Eagle came and snatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the practise of *c Agamemnon*, who when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding cheer*, very religiously made answer yes,

Θύσας γὰρ θυμὰν ἄνω ἐχέλω θυΐαν θύειν.

When I have done my Wedding Sacrifice.

As also by that which you may read of the like practise in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Lencippe* and *Callis one*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more especial manner to *Jupiter Ομήριος*, and *Junno Συζυγία*, as it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὸ πᾶσις ἐν-
 ραίει, ὃ δὲ ὁμῶς τὸν Δία, ὃ ἥντιν Συζυγίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ. By reason of this, and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a Prophanation they made it to disturb the business never so little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, especially to the Wife: as for instance; One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Phosius Codice cod.*) being accused of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they summon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my Author) τὰς ἀντιθέτων ἰδέσθαι τὴν τεταμένην, ὃ γυναικὶς δὲ εἰς τὴν πύλιν καὶ ἐν τῷ γάμῳ, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ζῆλον ἀντιπαρῆκα, ἢ δ' αὖθις αὖτ' ὅταν ἐπιστελθῇ γυναικὶ τὸ γάμον, as soon as they saw but the signs of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) & were informed of a Nuptial Sacrifice, because they would not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the man, but returned presently back again, and the Court was contented with the news. So likewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted several Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest

b Ach. Tat. l. 1.

c Eurip. Iph. is A. u. 711.

Libanius De- clam. 35.

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*, when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out *μήτις αὖτις μήτις ἀναγινώσκουσιν*, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up.

a Photius lib.

Ἡ δὲ γοργυμάντις ἀνάλαι ἀντίφροντος ἀνδρὸς, ἐν ἐσθρῶν ἀνδρομῶν ἐννοεῖται *ib.* because they thought it in things no way be-
seeming them to divulge that most secret converse by let-
ters betwixt a man and his wife. From the service of their
God's, they made hast to the service of their *Genius*, but a-
midst of a great deal of good cheer, the man & the wife were
always noted (a) for a great deal of temperance too. The

a Athenæus lib.

9.

b Zenobius.

Bread which they had was carried about in a basker by a
Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughs o' Acornes,
singing as he went *βούρην κέκορ, εὖκορ ἀμείνωρ*, I (or they) *ib.*
have avoided a worse evil, and met with a better. If he spake in
the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *opti-*
imum malorum, the best of the *thurs* evils at the least; & so it is
not so bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire* (unless you will
prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of losing her,
for so (they say) he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath
some loss by the money. The Musick which they had was singing
ἀμειβαίοντες, by turns, and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Ro-
mans did upon *Talassius*) *c* *Ἦμν, ὦ Ἦμν, ὦ Ἦμν*, imitated by
him in *Plautus*, *ib.*

c Arist. in Avib.

Id Hymen, Hymenæe, Id Hymen.

And this they did either in a thankful commemoration of one
of that name, who had sometimes saved the Maids of Athens
from a general ravishment; (such as there was once of the
Sabines) or else in a sorrowful commiseration of another, that
happen'd to be killed by the fall of a house that very day
that he Married. Whatever the *Mari* was, they seem to have
given him the honour of a God, and therefore to have been
very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the
Nuptial Ceremonies.

Quid scitiam, offendam Hymenæum? a In Casim
saies he in a *Plautus*: And this it was that made them keep Alk 4. Sc 3.
such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen*
Hymenæ, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

Ἰὼ Ἑὐφροσύνη *Cor. Ἑὐφροσύνη*

saies *Clytemnestra*; & which agrees with that of the other b Eurip. Iphig in
Poet in the same place. A. D. 695.

Age tibicen, dum illam eduxit hac novam nuptam foras,

Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæe.

Whether 'twere the fashion in Greece to set the woman first
in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tel: but (if I mistake not)
Lactantius has somewhat of such a thing, and I might speak
more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the woman was
led into the Chamber (*ἡ δὲ γυνὴ* or *ἡ δὲ νύμφη*) to shew
whereto she must, there was a sieve carryed along with her,
and a pette hung at the door, *οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ* (as *L. Pollux*
saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learn to put her
hand to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Wo-
man were both in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion
is with Us) according to *Solons* own order, they were
to take a *Quince* apple, and eat it between them; *ἡ δὲ*
νύμφη and *ἡ γυνὴ*, *ἡ δὲ νύμφη* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ δὲ νύμφη*
saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signifie the pleasantness
and harmony that should be in their talk at first. And yet not-
withstanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a
Chough would come and scold (*ἡ γυνὴ* *κοινῆς* *κοινῆς* *κοινῆς*
forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at
least) and leave the building imperfect, and this they called
νύμφη *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ*
because by this meant

a *Conjux miseranda Cayco* a Valer. Flac.

Linguntur & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili
I said (or if you will *conversetur* *conversetur* *conversetur* *conversetur* *conversetur* *conversetur* *conversetur* *conversetur*
speak a little finer)
for this word is many times used by it self for *De-*
am, as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Repub.*
speaking of *Jupiter* thus, *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ* *ἡ γυνὴ*

b Ery. d. 1.

Ἄν τις τὸ δὲ μὲν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, δὲ τὸ δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, χαμαὶ ὀν-
 γάζῃ. And yet I think b Hefled (without any wrong done
 him) may be understood of any other business left rough-
 between, unpolis'd, or not done over again, when he saies,

Μὴ δὲ δὴ ποὺ τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἀνθρώπον, ἀνθρώπον

c Apud Ery. d. 5

cf Inenias applies it indeed to our purpose; but now to
 prevent such an *omen* as this, they set the boies to cry Κῆν
 οὐκ ἔστι καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, in manner of a Scare-cry, as if they had been
 set to keep off the Rooks from the corn: καὶ οὐκ ἔστι (I say) and
 not καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, in the plural number: for herein the Scholiast up-
 on Pindar is supposed to have mistaken, because neither that
 bird, nor the turtle at the making of their Augury (which
 was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever
 wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unless it came in the
 singular number, and then the birds being singled & divided
 one from the other could not possibly be a good sign to
 those that were to be compl'd, and joyn'd together. But some
 notwithstanding like the Choughs for very good lucky birds (as
 we use to say) let them come how they will, either because
 they are *ωδὸς καὶ οὐκ* (as Homer calls them) long liv'd, or because
ex cornicumi sociis ut est (saies a one) *ut ex duobus Sociis, alter à*
extincta, vidua altera perpetua maneat. Now in the Chamber
 where they were to lie, they had two beds; viz. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι γαμ-
 ῖον, & καὶ οὐκ ἔστι γαμῖον, or a side-bed for a change, or *ὁ δὲ τὸ*
νὸν τὸν καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον saith Hefychius: If the parties that
 were married were very young, their Poets would term the
 bed *ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν* as Aristophanes does (in *Pace*) and so
 καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τὸν ἀνθρώπον for the house, and καὶ οὐκ ἔστι for the wife. Before
 the woman could lie with the man, she was to have her bath
 of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, *καὶ οὐκ ἔστι*
καὶ οὐκ ἔστι called in, according to that of the Comedian in
Ἰσχυρεῖ. *Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ὅτι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ὅτι τὸν ἀνθρώπον*
Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ὅτι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ὅτι τὸν ἀνθρώπον

a Alex. ab
 Ale. d. c. 5.

* Homer.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigam* when he intended to marry

Opera

Opora, giving order to his servant, as soon as he had brought her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Αλλ' ὅσον ὡς τάχιστα ταυτὴν λαβόν,
καὶ τὴν πύλον ἀτάλῳζε, καὶ θέμεναι ὕδωρ
ἐν τῇ βίμῳ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνου λέχῳ.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe*. well, ἐκ τῆς Καλλιρῶνης, εἰτ' αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ἐνταυρῆς κληθείσης. But afterward, saies (a) *Pollux*, from *Enneacrynus*, which was so called a L. 3. c. 3. because it had nine several κρήναι, or *fistulas*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, & so you might allow one for every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrynus* were but two distinct names of the same Well. The one expressing what *fair water* it was, or how well and clear it ran; and the other in how many places; for it may very well be thought so by that verse of (b) *Statius*

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis

b. *Thib. 12.*

Implicat —

Nay, *Thucydides* saies positively, they were the same Onely that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usual when they new made a thing to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrynus*. Which if it be so, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆς Καλλιρῶνης, εἰτ' αὖθις τῆς ἐνταυρῆς κληθείσης. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrynus*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the *Antrophe*. When the Wife was ready to undreis, her Mother took her hairlace and winding it about one of the *Torches* (for they had δύο δακτυλίδας too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The *Mother* I said. For she commonly would δακτυλίδην, carry the torches, or hold the candle to it, or any other work which the *Prouba's* used to do.

— *Non te duxit in thalamos parens*

Comitata primos, nec sua festa manu

Ornavit ades, nec suâ latas faces

Vitta revinxit—

Sais * Jocaſta.

* Senec. Theb.

For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not assur'd: whether it were *Corylia*, commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*; or *Larix*, or *Spina alba*, which they used amongst the Romans: and so likewise for their number, whether the custom were to have just five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, viz. *Jupiter Adultus*, *Juno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Minerva*, & *Lucina*; they have not given me light enough to discover, a little glimmering I have, and some cause to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwise why should the coverous Father in a *Libanion* complain so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not *ἐν λύχνῳ πλεὺς εὐμελεῖς ἀγασθῆναι*, light the Bride to bed with one & no more. But for the bearer that it was usually the Mother, will appear by the discourse that passed between *Clytemnestra* and her Husband in the * *Poet*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, & leave her daughter with him; she askt him

a Declam. 37.

* Eurip. Iph. in
Aul. v. 7. 34.

———— *τίς δ' ἀσπύσει φλόγα*, but who shall carry the Torches then? and being answered *ἰὼ παρὶς αὖτις, ὁ νομιμὸς ἔστιν*, that he meant to do it himself: nay quoth she *ὐχ ὁ νόμος ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ταῦτα*, that was not the custom, neither do you your self think it to be handsome and fitting. And indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd, for it seems to have been reckoned not so much the office and the charge as the Privilege, and the honour of the Grecian Woman: And therefore *Medea* made it one of the sad consequents of her banishment from the company of her Children, to be debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. O my dear children, quoth she, what a Wretch am I, who must thus leave you before I carry the Torches.

a Eurip. Med.
1025.

a Περὶ Λίχνης, καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ γαμηλίου
Εὐκλείδης ἀγγέλλει λαμπράδας τ' ἀσπύσειν

Tis

Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have lighted the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more than other fathers used to doe. ἄνδρες γαμήλιος ὁ πάτερ ἦτορ: I lighted the Torches, says he in * *Libanina*. But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Authour in these words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea*'s upon the death of her children) Εγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ἀμὲν προσέψην (not only ἀναψήσιν) τῇς ἡμετέρας ταῖς παρθένοις, I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding, &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba* shaved the woman (whether because she had vowed to be henceforth her Husbands) and so delivered her up to the man (if she had gone among the * *Israelites* when she was thus used, certainly the people there would have taken her for a captive Wife) The *Zona* which the Woman wore was untied by the Husband in the bed, ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐν δούλῳ αἱ παρθένοι, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ περὶ αὐτὰς ἀπαρτίζονται γίνονται, says the *Scholiast* upon *Enripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of *Λουζήνη* might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child-bearing, and worshipped she was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona* or whether there were another yet to be unty'd besides this; or whether it was tyed and untied again; or whether one knot were untied at first time, and another at the second, there's the knot of the question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes.) indeed that there was a *Zona* untied the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alcestes*.

Ὡς ἐπεὶ ἔτι, ἔτι παρθένοι ἔλυντο γὰρ
Κορσύναι· ἐκ τῆς δ' ἀνδρὸς.—

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Heracula-*

mens nodus formerly mentioned, because (I suppose) they call'd it by that name in allusion not so much to *Hercules* his strength, as if they would have it the *faster*, that is the stronger *ty'd*; as to his happiness in making of children, as if they would have it the faster *unty'd*, as fast as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had seventy children just. After they were both in bed, the *Boyes* and *Maids* (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) stood at the chamber door, and sung their *ἐπιδάμματα* or *γαμήλια*, with as great noise as possibly they could, *ἵνα τ' ὑπερδῶρα βραχέμεν*. *ἡ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ οὐ θοῶν μὴ ἐξακούται*, saies the Scoliaſt upon *Theocritus*, so that if the Wife should *Cry out* (as we say) before her time, she might not be heard. Which they had no such need to doe, if that be true which they say, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they called the *θυραῖς*, usually did him that good office, to stand Sentinel at the door, and keep the women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not so much *wedded* to his pleasure, as to be clean divorced from his friends; for besides the feast which he made altogether for the woman (called *Θεσμώφεια*, by *Isam* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the *πατέρα*, as his father in law had done before him. This making of Feasts at Weddings was properly called *δῶσαι τὸν γάμον*, as it is in the Tragedy.

Κ' ἀπὸ τῆς δαΐσεως τοῦ γάμου—

And a little before,

Εἰταὺδ' ἐδούτω πολλὰς γάμου δαΐ.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work; for they also kept a Feast of purpose for the women besides. And therefore says *Clytemnestra* in the place but now cited,

Ἡμεῖς δ' ὁλοῦτο πῦρ γυραεῖς θάνατοιο.

The saying *aujourd'hui marié, & demain mari*, to day Wedded, and to morrow sadden, would scarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as fresh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the house

Pollux l. 3. c. 3.

Isbig in Aul. v.
707. & 720.

house in pomp, a Boy in a white coat walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the rear, with suits of Clothe's and all sorts of Household stuffe, as Spoons, and Cups, and the like, a custome observed by the *Lacedemonians* with so much pride and excesse, that *Solon* was fain to make a Law to restrain the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed, they called ἀπύλια (as those which I presented you before, were called ἱπύλια) and sometime διαπαρδία, as being that which (to speake in *Juvenals* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur— and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glauca*. But so with a vengeance, as she made them ἀδύρα δάδα, killing her with the Spirt, from which she gave her the roaft.

α Πάμφω δὲ αὐτὸς δ' ὦρ' ἔχοντες ἐν χερσίν

Νύμφη δέσποντος &c.

a *Eurip. Med. v.*

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing τεταύλια for the first, ἀπύλια (when the garment called ἀσαυλητηρία was given by the Woman to the Man) for the second, and ἱπύλια for the third.

784.

1. *Polhem. l. 3. c. 3*

C A P. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THe time of the year which they deemed most lucky to Marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *Nefastions* time and daies) was the first Moneth of the Winter. (Clean contrary to the custome of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they chalked but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a coal, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, a *Mense malas Maii nūbere*. a *Ovil. l. 5. Fast.*

A a

it

b *Quæst. Rom.* 3.
6.

* *Isthm.* H.

it may be *malum* by ^b *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the Month, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moon; that they might be brought to bed (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the day was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might go to bed the sooner. Just at these seasons *Thetis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

— ἐν δὲ γαμνίσσας
Δὲ παῖρας ἐγὰρ
Λύει καὶ χαίρειν ὦ
— οὐραὶ πορνύσας.

* *γ. 1. 3.*

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be born in *τῆς δὲ Quartæ Lunæ* as *Hercules* had; besides * *Hesiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he means *μῦθος ἡμέρας* of the first third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscinious* bird did *obscure* or *occure* singing another song to the contrary.

Ἐν γὰρ τῇ τετάρτῃ μῦθος ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀκατὴρ,
Οἷον ἐπὶ αὖ οἱ ἐπ' ἀργυρῇ τὸ τὸν ὤκεαν.

a *Eurip. Iphig.*
in *Av.* 717.

Whereas the *ἐκτὸς μῦθος* (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty days to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad again, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddesses, especially having ^a *Agamemnon* too (a man) on my side, who when the question was ask'd — *τίς δὲ νύμφη γαμέει;* made answer.

Ὅταν Σεῖονος εὐπορίας ἔλθῃ καὶ ἐλθῇ

When that blessed season of Full Moon shall come.

I do not find the *Romans* to have been so scrupulous as to think Marriage to be imperfect, unlesse it were at the full, or never to be as good as it should be, except it were in *Medio*, like the virtues. * 'Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another colour, black and unsuitable with

with the mirth of a Wedding; and so were all Holy-days whatsoever, and the reason you have given by ^b *Macrobium* in these words, *Feris autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: Ideo tunc vitantur nuptie, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur*: To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-days, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-daies to any, neither *Religious* dayes (as they call'd them) to such as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *postridani dies*, that is, the first dayes after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not do if she married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a Widdow might be suffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the Feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-licet* dayes they had a custome to Marry onely upon such a day as by the judgment of the Astrologer (to whom they sought) *copulas nuptiales* affirmet. But so much may suffice concerning the time of Marriage. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

^b L. 1. Sat. c. 15

C A P. IX.

Quæ requiruntur in Marito.

THE Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were sold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly, he must be no lesse than five and thirty years old, according to the Law, and according to ^a *Aristotle* two years elder. But according to *Hesiod* a little younger, or a little elder is seasonable enough.

^a Polit. 7.

Μάτε γυνήκων τὸν ἑταῖον μάλιστα πολλὸν ἀπολαύπων

A a 2

Μίτ'

Μὴτ' ἐπίδοις μάλιστ' πολλὰ.

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρ^Θ, sole Daughter and Heir (such a one as *Aristophanes* in *Vespis* calls ἐπικληρίδα or πατρῷον) he must be one of the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there always were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) some others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the business with him and plead to the same; and then such Women were called ἐπίδοις, b and the whole suit ἀμφὶ βήτησι: The question was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Lastly, he must not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at least he might not be so, upon pain of being accounted a fellow of *νεακούνη*, or repute among the Citizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, Μὴτ' εὐδοκίμειδω, μήτε μητιχέτω ἄλλω παρὰ τοῖς πολιταῖς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ μητεριὰν ἐπάγων; who so ever shall super induce novercam, let him be ἀτιμ^Θ, &c. Besides the hurt done to the Children (it being as good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a *Stepdame*) gave one pretty reason more against being the *Husband of two Wives* in this sense, by way of *dilemma*: you shall have his words, as I found them in *Arse-nius* his *Περὶ δίσκου φιλοσόφων* &c. saies he, Εἴτ' ἐπίτυχες ᾗ γῆμας τὸ πρῶτον, ἢ ἡμεῖς κατὰ πάσσαν, εἰ τ' ἐν ἐπίτυχαι, μακρὸν τὸ πῖος δωτίους λαβεῖν τὰς, ἢ ᾗ ἀλυσίαις ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς παύμασι δμαρτῶν ἄρῃς ἢ δικαίως νομιδῶν, If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou shouldst have kept thee well while thou wast well: if thou hadst not, thou art little better than a Fool or a Madman, to stumble again at the same stone.

b1. Poll. l. 3. c. 3.

a Moemabasis
Archiepif.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THe Qualification, required in a Wife, were these. First she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the yoke. For otherwise the Marriage was counted *πυρία* rather than γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) *ἄνθρωπος ἰσχυρά* — If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse than a thousand δραχμαὶ to the City. This Law though it were for a time let down by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was brought up again by *Aristophanes*. Secondly, she must be six and twenty years of Age. And yet *Aristotle* even in his *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young, both because *ὡς τὰς τόκους πρὸς ἑαυτὰς λαμβάνουσιν*, &c. they travell with a great deal more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deal more intemperance; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make such hast, *ἀπαιτῆς ἔμικροὶ τὰ σώματα*, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge of stature as else they would be. But then there is * another who would be willing to let them Marry a year or two sooner than he,

b L. 7. c. 16.

* *Hesiod. Oper.*

ἢ γυνὴν οὐκ ἔχοντα, πρὶν ἢ γάμον ποιεῖν.

And a another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

a *Enrip. in Hel.*
v. 12.

Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος, ὡς αὐτὸς γάμον.

Cum ad pubertatem venis, tempestivum nuptiis

Thirdly she must be but one, and no more according to *b Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men to make the more hast for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; whom they made use of only *ad concumbendum* (for the present occa-

b L. 13.

sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for γυναι, as good as the best. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himself made use of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd again by their husbands, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were thus to fall out for one unhandsome Man. But * others there be again that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water, γυναι ὡς τὸ δὴ ἀγαθὸν, Unless you will have the man to stand out. ^a *Hermione* her self, though she were *super induc'ta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether dislike the increase of the number.

— ἐπὶ γυναικῶν

δοῖς γυναῖκες ἀνδρὶ ἢ ἀνδρὶ γυναι.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπιδοντες τοχρῆμα θαλερῶν ἔρω,

Καὶ συγγαμοῖς δυσχερεὲς μέλλεις εἶναι.

Such envious things the Women are,

That fellow-wives they cannot bear.

^b *Eurip. ib.*

And verifi'd they have been, not only by ^b her own example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greeks, especially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magical devises, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way than ^a *partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so she told the other.

— συγγαμῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν παρμάνει οὐκ

Ναδὲ δ' αὐτὸν δὴ σὺ μοι δίδαλυσται.

When such courses as these are taken.

Turgida

As for the Portion or Estate, she was either ἐπ' αὐτῆς, one that had no Brother, and was Heir to the whole Estate: or ἐκὶ αὐτοῦ, that had a Brother, and no more than her part or a portion. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a ποιεῖς, or a portion. Inasmuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἀπολεῖς; yet he would have ποιεῖς ἄα, the *Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were sign'd and seal'd in the presence of witnesses, and the man did ἀνέχουρ τε ἀποτίμα, take over to the Woman some House or Land in exchange, and this they call'd

a Harper, ἡ ἀποτίμημα.

CAP. XI.

De Divortio.

ANd now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a month (once for every part; for they divided their Month into three parts,) or else if she were an ἐπ' αὐτῆς she might go to another, unless he were able to excuse himself by a lawful impediment. Such as coming from Funerals is accounted by b *Hesiod* in those Words

b L. 2. Of his: Μῦς δ' ἀπὸ δυσσήμερο τὰ φη ἀπορρήσσειται,
Σεμναίσειν γυνὴν.

Or by any other unseasonableness of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable than other, & some fitter to beget Men-child ren than Women, may appear by the words of the same Poet: speaking of the sixth day of the middle part of the month.

Ἀνδρόγον δ' ἀγὰρ, κέρη δ' ἑ σήμεροβι ἐστ.

And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἐσλὴ δ' ἀνδρόγον δ' ἀγὰρ, κέρη δ' ἐτα τήναι.

But if they were about any solemne Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either.

And

and therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites) to abstain altogether, or ἀγνῆς ἔχειν, *purè habere*, as the Poet call'd it *in Asinario*.

Si forsè purè velle habere dixeris.

If a Wife that was an ἐπίκλητος were overlaid, or any way abus'd by her Husband, she might have a writ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπιπλήγεῖ, otherwise called ἐπιπυγῆλια, and be suffered to leave him; and this they call'd ἀποπλάττειν: whereas if the Husband would part with her, it was call'd ἀποπλάττειν, because he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her company nevertheless. But one thing I must tell you too, that for either party to leave, or to put away the other, was a thing alwaies very much detested among the Grecians. In-
somuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for so many Men and Women to meet in the darké, and every one to buy his pig in the poke, the Ephori impos'd a mulct upon *Lyfander* himself for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀποπλάττειν, for the Woman to separate from the Man, 'twas a thousand times worse than ἀποπλάττειν, even flat rebellion, or delinquency at the best, Hear but what *Medea* saies of it.

a Schol. in *A-*
ristoph. in *Equit.*

—ὃ γὰρ οὐκ αἰεὶς ἀπαλλασαί,
τοῦ αἰεὶς, ἢ δὲ οἷον τ' ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ πόνου.

b *Eurip. Med.*
v. 236.

Where she puts it for one of the privileges which the Man enjoys before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor Wife if she be well us'd 'tis true, *ἐλευθερία*—no life like hers—*οὐ γὰρ*—but if ill—*θανάτου*—there is no remedy but death or she had better be out of the life. On the other side, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife; or one Husband in all: and what a disparagement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, a *Enripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alcestes*, thus threatening her Husband, if he married again, though she were dead,

a In *Alcest.* v.
464.

Εἰ δὲ πικρὸν ἔστιν αὐτῇ ἀγῶς.

Ἡ μά' ἔμει γ' αὖ εἰς αὐτὴν δαίε.

But was it so indeed as *Medea* complained, and was the Woman to be miserable still without any hopes of redresse ! no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if she found the Conjugal yoke too strait, and had a mind to slip the Collar, she was to make her complaint to the *Archon* : who deputed other Judges to consider if the cause were lawfull, and so to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that she engage her selfe by Band, never to return to her Husbands house again : and when this was done, she might either have her Portion back again from her Husband, or else serve him with a Writ *ἡ ποικίλος* *ἰσθῆς*, or allow her maintenance, and so much a Month for use, as long as he detained the money.

C A P. XII.

De Mulierum scleragogia, & servilibus ministris.

BUT now whether the Woman reckon'd it sufficient cause to complain, to be put to servile employments, I know not, such abuses as these were many times offered. I do not so much stand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread ; (whatever a *Hecuba* has complaind of that employment) but the baser sort of services, such as fetching of water upon their heads : which the poor old Maid in the b Poët might justly make one of the saddest parts of her slavish condition,

—το δ' ἄγγε' πρὶ δ' ἰσθῆδος ἡδον

ἑστῶσι τῶνδε ποταμῶν πρὸς ἑμῶν.

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying water, was the same that ours is now, nay and the Roman too, for c *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her self (*Sylvia* I mean) when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maiden-head,

a *Apud* *Empir.*
Troad. v. 193.

b *Id.* in *Elect.* v
55.

c *L. 3. Fast.*

head, a good caveat for all sleepy servants)

Ponitur è summâ fœtilis urna Comâ.

And so likewise I did once conjecture that the men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poët saies of Ulysses his Marriners, when they took in fresh Water in Sicily.

—ἀμφὶ δ' ὠχέει

Τῶν ἐγγύται κινὰ βοῶντι κερκεμένους

Κράνους δ' ὀσπλάδας—

Now whereas I mention'd onely fetching of water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doors, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing befeeming to meddle with any thing within doors, or so much as to know what was done there, *οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκῇ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων ἀπορίας.* It is Aristotle's own *Oeconomicks*, at least *χρὶς δὲ δόξουσιν*, though not *χρὶς ἀέξιν* (to use the words of *Tusannus* sometimes professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greek again, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being lost, and only a Latine translation of one *Arthetimus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for her to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet travell too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoan the Wives condition *If any thing grieve her* (saith he) *she has no more company to make known her grief unto, than μὲν ψυχῇ, her own poor soul: And whereas they object that the husband gets to Warr, and does this and that, I for my part, saies she*

—ἀπὶ ἄντρας ἀσπίδα

Στῆσαι δέοιμ' ἄν, μάλλον ἢ πικρὴν ἄσπετον.

—Three times to bear a shield

Thrice better do it think, than once to bear a child.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or lesse, according to her Fathers liberality in her

196. *Archæologia Antica. Lib. 4. Cap. 13.*

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache*, that in this she came behind her, though she were otherwise the first Wife: my Father (saies she) sent me hither in a liberal manner.

a *Enrip. Androm.* v. 153.

a Πολλὰς οὐκ ἴδρις. ἀνδρὶ δὲ προσέειπεν.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too: Only you that brought nothing wish you must goe out of doores. And she that cannot pay, must be sure to pray. This argument of hers, her waiting maid after ward bandy'd back to her again, to put her out of her fear that her Husband would put her away. For (saies she) he did not take you as a Captive, or so, b *ὣν πολλὰς ἴδρις*, he had something wish you.

b *Id.* v. 872.

C A P. XIII.

De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis.

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the workmen abroad, take in *Electras* own words:

c *Enrip. Elect.* v.

75.

d *I. Poll.* 7. c. 10.

— c τὰ δὲ θέματα δ' ἡμᾶς ἔχον

Ἐξελκνίζον, σινδὼν τε δ' ἔργον &c.

or else working at any kind of Lanifce, either at d *ἐκκνίζον* the rozing (shall I say) or the carding of the Wool? or *σινδων*, when they went to spinne out the *σινδων* or flamen and *διδυ-
κται* (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Wooll; or last of all at *ὕφαντικὴ* the Weaving and joyning the *σινδων* together with the help of of the *κίρκης*, (the *pesten* or the sley like a comb) and the *ἀγροδοί*, or the *ἀελα*, smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might not wear) which hung at the end of the threads. The posture in Weaving was more anciently a standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine worke

a *Serv. ad Aen.* 8

worke, *recta* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a croise and no more; for there was *ποικιλτά* too, and a great deal of variety in some workes, as well as several sorts of workes in the trade; which was the cause why *b 7on* in *b V. 14. 18.* *Enripides* when *Crensa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her owne Weaving, askt her of what sort of making it was.

Πῶς τι, ποιά, παρὶν ὑφάσματα.

Unlesse you will confine this *κίβη* to the Virgins (as you may seem to have cause from the words but now produc'd) and the Wives and Mothers (or their servants for them) to the plainer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis can saliberis confici curabant*, saies *Festus* the parents among them would make their Children none but *plain Cloaths*, to shew they must use themselves to *plain dealing*. And seeing Weaving was a worke well becomming the better sort (as appears in *Crensa* the daughter of no worse man than *Eriphema* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if she have put it among her complaints in that verse

Αὐτὴ δ' ἐμφορδύει κατὰ πίπλους.

That she was kept to weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was, rather that she could not be her own Woman, and weave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never weaving, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from *a Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a state of levelling *a Polit. 1. 6. c. 143.* Democracy, though she were a married Woman (as she was but *πολυχέστη παρδαν*) that or any work else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, *τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἢ γυναικὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἀπολέδοις διὰ τὴν ἀδελφίαν*, she must be forc'd to do things her selfe for want of Servants, and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynaconomy*, which might give the Wife any privileged at all.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Oecuria.

NOW the Wives besides their γυναικοῦς, (their Bed-chamber shall I call it, or their Attiring room, or their Dining-room. just as the men had their ἀνδρῶνα) had their βῆλαμον ἰσῶν too, to worke in, as the Virgins had their παρδῶνα to play in, for I fear me, *unides chambres font dames solales* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

c Eurip. Iphig. in
Aul. v. 737.

Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόναι ἦν κέρετ.

That Maids at home should not be left alone.

Tis true they were kept from gadding abroad. Inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediately followling the former,

Οχυρεῖς παρδῶναι φρενὲς καλῶς.

And if their Daughters, not yet ſhut faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were, in Priſon (for which their οἴκηται, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives : when they ty'd them up? as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their *æ* Poëts:

a Ariſtoph in
Theſmop.

— ἢ γυναικωνίτιον

Στεγυῖσαι ἐπὶ βάλανον, ἥ δ' ἢ μὲν χλας

ἑνὸς τε ἡμῶς, ἡ δ' οὐκ ἔστι μολεπικὸς

Τρίσκι μορμολύκειν τοῖς μοιχοῖς κύων.

— beſides the ſcales

Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay

To make us ſure; nay more, their Maſtive curs

They keep to fright adulterers away,

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were οἰκῶντες Houſe-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was ſo

so hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which sense you may well take that of the same Poët in *Lyfistrate*: χαλσιπὶ γυναῖτων ἔξε-
 ΑΘ. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were) ἐκίχουσι, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικίους κοσμοῦσι, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικὸκομοί (as they call'd them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was^a posted up upon a certain plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talk of going, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard or so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives and Daughters so much as to look abroad, or if they were suffer'd by them they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maid took up her Mistress so short, when she went forth at doores in a passion.

b Αλλ' ἂν τις εἴπῃ, μὴ δὲ οὐραῖα δόμων

Πέριθε φησὶ, μὴ τιν' ἀρνηθῇ λαβεῖν.

Πρὸ δὲ τὸν μολαδραὶ φησὶ δ' ἀρμήνη, τί εἶπες.

b Eutip. in
Androm. v. 876.

But, pray, get in, and shew not thus your self
 Before the house, &c.

Where, I dare not say, the translator was *Phantastick*, to render φανταζέσθαι, *imagineris*: but what ever he saies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpose. Nay looking out at a window, was almost as bad as looking out at doore; καὶ ἐν θυροῖς δὲ παρανοήματα (as the Women complain in *The/mophron*-
 αζησα^{*} where you may read more of their grievances) if they did but peep out, they would be thought to do it, as other Women us'd to do: and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet I fear me, some of the Daughters had scarce the liberty to
 goe

* *Aristoph.*

goe out of one room into another, for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pa-
dagogue* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bring-
ing up, of their Children, Maids or Boyes.)

Eurip. Phœniss.
v 8.8.

Επί σε μήτηρ παρθεῖσθαις ἐκλιπὼν

Μεθ' ἧς.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without leave, I know not. I believe they could hardly do it without company, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad: for so I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies;

Οὐα οἷν ἀμα τῇ καὶ ἀμείωτοι δίδασκτο.

The Womans own private chamber, *Gynaconitis*, *Gynaconi-
tes*, or *Gynacon*, (call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*)
built two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to
climbe up to them: for (to tell you in his words) οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι
ἔκρυπτον τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ δαδάμους ἐκτισκόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ δουρὶς ὑψέτι.
The people of ancient times, built their ~~chambers~~ their upper
Chamber for the nonce. *Να* and *οἷα* they called them then,
inasmuch that *Helena* having been alwaies close bred up in
such a Chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht
of an Egge, either from the *ovall* fashion of the Roome, or
the like signification of the name in the Greek. Whether they
went up by the Ladder, or a pair of staires, tis not so easie
to determine, as it was to get up, for when I call to mind
what adoe the *Padagogue* (whom I lastly mention'd) had to
help up his pupil by the hand, I am apt to think that *κλίμαξ*
from the *Parthenon*, and the other to the *Gynacon*, to have
been a ladder, and not a staire-case: hear how she cries for
help:

Ορεῖται τὴν ὄρεα καλῶν

Νῦν γὰρ δὴ καλῶμαι

Πῶς ἔχει ἐναντία μου.

Such a *κλίμαξ* had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of help,
for

Κλίμακα

* Poll. l. 8. c. 9.

pleasure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime it selfe. It was call'd either *ἰσχυρία*, or *παράδοσις* synecdochically the part for the whole; for having pluckt off the hair of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenal*, *Quosdam machos & mugilis intras*: Inſomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd *ἰσχυρῶς*. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tollerated the publick use of harlots, (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Woman, having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for they were better) she was not onely forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire, which other Women wore, it was lawful for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for *ἄπιστος*, a base companion. On the other side, if the Women were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers punishment then was no more than a fine. And you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is so much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, than he that must break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Egishhu* and *Clytemnestra*, which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I refer you to that practice of *Sejanus*: who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cunæa tentanti* (saies * *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit*. In like manner, if a Man had ravish'd a young Woman, (so she were free born) his punishment was a fine, viz. a thousand Drachma

* L. 4. Annal.

b'saus pro
Pyrrh.

Drachma: but then besides that, he was to marry her too (unless it could be made appear she had taken something of him in consideration) which puts me in mind of a story of the *Messianian* in *Pausanias*, who to compell *Aristodemus* to give him his Daughter to wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kil'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worse than *Virginis*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd shall I say, or press'd to death, for they called such a punishment *ἀντιπρὸς χάριν*, as some upon these words of *Homer*,

ἀντιπρὸς ἔσπευ χάριν ἀνὰ κούρην ἔβλεψεν ἰδὼν ἔσπευ.



Cc 2

LIB. 5.





LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

He Athenians (saies Plutarch in his *Marriage-exhortations*.) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Bazungion*. but yet, saies he, ὁ πατρὶς ἡρώτατος δὲν ὁ γαμήλιος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄγρος ἐπὶ παιδῶν τελευτᾷ, the plowing for Children

is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very sutable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of *ἄρσεν*, and *ἀρσεν*, and *Ἀρσεν*, concerning the Women. For as * *Aristotle* saies in his *Politics*, ἀπολαύοντα εἶναι τὴν γυναικῶν καὶ ἰχθύων, ὡς τὸν καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν καὶ τὸν γῆν: as also with the use of the word *ἀρσεν* for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedypus Tyrannus* ἡρώδης, & in his *Antigone* ἀρσεν ἄρσεν in the same sense. So *Aristineus* in one of his *Epistles* (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ὁ ἀγρος αὐτῶν. And *Moschus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon *Ερω* Ἀγροῦ. The Latin word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would

* L. 7. l. 67.

* L. f. Ep. 18.

would *Infer* to the word *βαδν* a bud, and *βαδννν*, so commonly used in *Sophocles*, and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstain from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotle's** advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to go every day a Pilgrimage a certain journey, to do service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, *ἢ δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰεὶ τὸν αἰεὶ τὸν αἰεὶ*, and his reason was, that they might not *παυμν* grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by this kind of travelling prepare their body for a worle, as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycargus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrestling, and coyting, and shooting, and the like, that by this meanes having confirm'd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better *ἀγωνίζεσθαι* *ἐν τῷ αἰεὶ τὸν αἰεὶ τὸν αἰεὶ*, wrestle with the *throwes*. The principal God whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them *Εἰανδύνα* *ἢ τὴν ἰανδύνα*, from the readinesse to come to the Woman at a call, or a crying out.

Loco pædidi.

— *Aperire portus* *

a *Horat. Carm. Sac.*

Lenis Elithyia. —

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and a handy-nesse or *dexterity*, and willingnesse to perform, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quoniam putarent faciliè Conceptam alvum egerere*, saies *Festus*, and sometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

b *Sil. Ital.*

— *Facilina templa Diana b.*

Either a *face*, because she was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if she did but hold the Candle to it) and so was *Ilithyia* by the *Greeks*, *ἢ τὴν ἰλθύναν*, (saies *Pausanias* in *Arcadicis*) because the paines of a Travell are so hot: or else from *facilis*, *easie* and without difficulty to be won.

— *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis. c*

being c *Ovid. Fast. l. 2.*
likewise

likewise for the same reason called by the Greeks *Παιδοποιός*: as by *Orphens*, by whom she is also termed *Θηλυὴ Σότῆρ*, and *ἑστὴν Βαβύρην*, and *Παλοχῆν*, because she stood still ready as it were at the door, and was alwaies at hand to do the worke of a hand-woman—*in voto parturientis ades*. Or lastly from *facilis castis*, and *without pain*, because she gave the woman *facilem partum*, as he saies.

Ut solvas partus molliter illa suos.

For the same cause, they gave her also the title of *ῥυδάς*, as the Latines did that of *Genitalis*.

Sive sis Lucina probas vocari,

Sen Genitalis.

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was born: *Non esse mirandum, quod Diana occupata in adiuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abesset*: that it was no wonder, because *Diana* was taken up in helping *Olympia*. And yet this jest (as dry as it is) *Plutarch* is so far frō liking, that he saies it was cold enough to have extinguishd those flames. Last of all she was also called *Παλοχῆν*, quasi ὅτι τὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλάττωσε καὶ βέβαιον ἔργον. saies the a Scholiast, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

Dicite, si nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti

Dicite, in voto parturientis ades.

Now this *Lucina* (saith ^b *Cicero* was nothing but the Moon: *Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina*. And the Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *nascentis dux*, was therefore worshipped by the womē in travel, *quod partus maturiscant septu aut nonnunquā novem Luna cursibus*: or because the Moon by the filling and opening moisture of her influence *graviditates & partus affert, maturitateq; gignendi*, as the Orator said in the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plural number*, as you have in *Homer*—*Παλοχῆν Εἰλαῖδωαι*, and in *Aristotle*

d. Ib.

a *Aristoph. in Lucist.*

b L. 2. de Nat. Dier.

c L. 4. de lig. Lat.

fole

ἥσθε θεῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, &c. you may take it to be in reference only to several names of one and the same *Diana*, and in a special manner to those three, viz. *Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *Proserpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins used to call her *Diva triformis*, in their prayers at the time of Child bearing.

Quæ laborantes usero puellas

Ter vocata andis, adimisque letho

Diva triformis.

Diana should be a Gentle-woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I said; for that was the ground, or the principal name: all the other names seem to be but the descant, or so many *Epithetes*, and *Surnames* upon it. So in *Enripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὰν δ' εὐλοχὸν Οὐρανίαν

Τὴν Ἰννύον

Ἀφροίτην,

In another Tragedy, Πόσειδον Ἀφροίτην λοχίαν: and

—Ποσειδὼν δὲ πρὸς θεῶν. *Aphroite* or *Diana* stands still the substantive, and all the rest hang like so many Adjectives. Besides these to the Moon, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themselves, whom they worshipped by the name of *Τετασάτεσσιν*, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* say some. So many windes says one (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables) But what have women to do with the Wind? it can blow them no good, but a *Tympany*: and so puff them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoelias*, and *Protocreon*, and *Philochorus* saies, they were the three first men that were begotten. And here I must tell you of somewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to sacrifice to the Nymphs, and to pray to them then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it up. And thus much I conjecture by those words of *Orestes*, when one told him

a Etymol. Dic-
tion.

that

that he saw *Eggesthem* sacrificing to the Nymphs.

a Eurip. Eleph.
v. 616.

ἢ Τερψία πάλιν, ἢ οὐ μίλλοις τίκει;

For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De puerperio, seu factu masculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell; neither durst I conclude as much by the Ἀχίον Σάλαμος in *b Enripides*, where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies.

ἢ Ἀχίονος δ' Ἀντίου τοῦ

b in Bacch. v. 96.

Διὸς Σάλαμος.

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a virtue either to conquer the pain, (for a *Palme* branch was a token of *Conquest*) or to make them bear up under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palm-branch go downward) according to that of *Theognis*:

— Διὰ τίκα πόντιον Ἀντὶ

ποίνης ἢ ἰατρικῆς ἢ ἰατρικῆς ἢ ἰατρικῆς.

c De Civ. Dei l.
15. c. 22.

I do not read that ever before travel they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fanni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as *St Austin* saies) suppos'd those Hobgoblins *improbos saepe exiisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregissee concubitu*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an *Axe*, and another with a *Pestle*, and another with a *Broom*, cutting, and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep a *Sylvanus* off her: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the building of their house? (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, saies * *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof *Κίονα ἰδμεν*, saies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and *Τεταρταῖον κίονα*, saies *Pindar* of the same

a Ibid. 6. c. 9.

L. 1 c. Met.

same, *Iphigenia* her selfe, when she dreamt of the fall of a house, could interpret the Pillars for so many Sons. For saies she,

ΣΤΥΛΟΙ Σὺ οἶκον καὶ πατρὸς ἄρτους.

The Males are Pillars of a Family.

And very good reason the men should bear the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the house can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they do many of them to this day. Names they made choyce of the best, such as *ΑΤΑΝΤΗΣ* among the Greeks, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the figure was commonly of the worst, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibbosi*, according to that in *Martial*.

— *Redetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbos*

Besides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in stead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man.

CAP. III.

De Infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child so soon as it was borne, was washt in Water (or else in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonian* fashion, and desir'd to prove, shall I say, or to improve the strength of the Infant.) Of this washing mention is made in *Plinius* his *Amphytrion* thus,

Postquam peperit pueros, lavare jussit, nos occipimus.

Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus est & multum valet!

And so likewise in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he speaks of *Primus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather than *Hecuba* her sister, and her sonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill *τὸν μητέρα καὶ τὸν παῖδα*, the Mother and the Child, he did it saies he.

a *Plut. on Ly-*
cn'g.

Περὶ δὲ λοχείας γυνὴ χυτλῶσαι θύει.

from which verse (after I have started the question how he came to be called *Munippius*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occasion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scholiast notes upon the word *χυτλῶσαι*, that after they had washt the body with Water (heared I suppose it was: and used onely for the cleansing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a *χύτρον*, or a vessell so called, which they had for that purpose. The reason I believe to be the same, for which they did it at other times upon the elder sort, viz. *ἵνα εἰ πρὶν ἐπὶ θέρμῃσι δεισυχθῆναι καὶ δῶσι τὸ τῷ ἑλκὶ ἐπισηματικὸν ὄντος*, (as the ^a Scholiast hath it) to close up the pores againe, after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was so constantly used just after the washing, that you shall have the word *χυτλῶσαι*, sometimes used to signifie the same, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

—ἐπὶ μήτηρ μεγάλαν ἀπὸ θήκατο κόλπον
 Λυπκα δίζητο ῥόδον ὕδατος, ὥκε τόκοιο
 Λύματα χυτλῶσαι.

In allusion to this *χύτρος* ^b *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* *α' χυτλώτην λοχείαν*. For coming from so cleane a place as *Jupiter's* thigh, he had no great need of washing.

^a In *Aristoph.*
Plut.

^b L. 9. *Diomys.*

CAP. IV.

De Cunnabulis, &c.

THE Child being washed, it was wrap'd in a cloth Woven for the purpose by the mother in the time of her Virginity, as may be conjectured by that which *Cressa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erethide* wrought the image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's* *Agis*, by the help whereof *Perseus* had cut it off. Besides the likenesse of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erethionius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcan's* seed spilt on the ground in forcing of the goddesse, and having feet like a Dragon was exposed and committed by her, to the custody of two vigilant Dragons,

—Ἰδεν Ερεχθίδας ἱκῆι

Νόμῳ πεδῖν, ὅρσι δ' ἐν χρυσατέροις

Τρέφειν τέκνα.

Saies the Poet: and from

thence came the custome I speake of. And yet perhaps neither thole Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing else but emblems, used by the authors to expresse the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for so they are like to have been assigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Hesperides* &c. & that because of their quickness of sight, according to *Festus*: *Dracones dicti dicitur quia ex causa videndi clarissima enim habebant oculorum acie qua ex causa onebantes eos thesauris custodia causa fixerunt.* Being wrap'd in the cloth instead of being put in a cradle, it was either lay'd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in time of Warre: (& thus was *Hercules* himself, and the *Lacedemonians* generally used; thus also the * *Celts* used the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*.) or else upon a *Vannus* or *Ventila-*

Eurip. in Ion. v.

25. & 14. & 7.

Sitabo. l. 7.

brum quod alimentorum copia & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant, saies Rhodiginus, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.

WHen the child was five dayes old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of joy for having a child, the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands: and in congratulation the kinred that intended to be at the naming feast sent their *παραίαι δῶρε* (as *Aeschylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to do with us at *Christenings*. The things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepia*, whether as rarities, or for what reason, I am yet to seek. The verses of *Eubulus* cited by *Athenaus* c. 2. speaks as if those things were not kept till the feast, but us'd the same day, as likewise Doves, and Trushes and coleworts with oyle, and rolled peices of *Chersonesus Cheese*, and I know not what: the whole solemnity of the day is called *Αμειδιμία*, and so is the *Genius*, or *παραίαι δῶρε*, and *Αμειδιμία*, from the running about the hearth (which it seems was plac'd in the midst of the roome) or as wee may call it, *Dancing about our cold fire*, for wee read of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire; for *Hesychius* saies, those that carried the child must be naked. The naming feast which I mention'd, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies *Aristotle*: and his reason is, because that day was observ'd to be very criticall to most things, *ἡ ἑβδόμη ἡ ἀστυκτικὴ καὶ ἰατρικὴ*, and therefore, saies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, then they presently gave it a name, *ὡς ἡμετέρας μάλλιν τῇ σκηνῇ*, as presuming

it would continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth night rather) because the feast which they kept was called *Συγν*, and those which then sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said *συγνάν θύειν*, or *συγνάν ἑστάναι*: & at the same feast (saies *Suidas*) were the kinred wont to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Again, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word *συγν* in *Avibus Aristophanis*, I have the plaine testimony of the Poët himselfe in the same Comedy in another place; where he brings in *Pisitheros* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome

Οὐκ ἂν πρὸς τὸν συγνάν ταῖς ἐγὼ

καὶ τὸν αἰσχροπαιδῶν δὲ σὺν.

Now a Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grandfather. I cannot say that they kept this name and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Protem* when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Theonoe*; * thus *Lenciippe* when she was bought, was new nam'd *Lacœna*; and *Ismenias*, *Atraces* when he became enslav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Masters, who presently gave them new, such as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ *Σῆρος*, or the colour and complexion, as ὁ *ξανθός* or ὁ *πυρρός*, or some good quality in him, as ὁ *μακρός*, and ὁ *δρῦς*, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ *Νεμεσίου*. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopter's name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian* when an Estate fell to him,

a *Eustath. in ll. 5*

Enr. Hel. v. 13.

* *Achil. Tat. l. 5.*

Eustat. l. 9.

Phoc. Biblioth.

Cod. 279.

SP. Rev. 2. 17.

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*: and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Persians* &c. or Gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palamon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* *Διονέων*; (*Cinxia* you may call her in latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* *Χιτών*. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shund, as any Woman of the Jewes, inso much that reckoning her among the *μύσθματα* they boathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layen for dead: or if they had happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint, when they came forth again, they would be sure to wash, whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, *ἐν τῇ κήδῃ καὶ λουτρῇ καὶ μυσθματῶν πύλῃ*: which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*; when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes*, whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousnesse, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerall, &c. I desie (saies she) the hypocrisie of that Goddess what ever she be, that shall take delight in the murdering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of puritie, forsooth shall forbid such & such to come neer her Altars:

— α βροτῶν ἢ ἢν τις ἀΐηται φόνῳ

Ἡ δὲ λοχία, ἢ νεφεύθιγος χρεῖται,

βαμὼν ἀσπίρηι, μυστρεῖν δὲ ἡγνέδῃ.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the Heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth

mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Isle of *Delos* should by this means be polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lie in for child there, but she must be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Island neer adjoyning. What day she was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Enripides*:

Λέγ' ἡλίας ἐν οἷον ἀγνῶσαι ἀρχαί.

Whether it were at the time of the *παρακλῆσις*, the feast that was kept at the forty dayes end (for so many dayes she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δέκα: ἢ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, when the child was a tenne night old, (as we say a seven night, counting nothing but the nights: for I do not think it is the tenth Month) I doe not well know: but *Electra* saies it was so,

δενάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς ὡς νομίζεται.

Whensoever the time was, the Woman, after she had wash'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from * thence) she her selfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband * *Pausanias* in *Ac.* to the Nymphes for helping him to such a Wife: or both (if you will) to return their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδὸς δευδμόν τελεσφόρον, θύειν. It may be in case of weaknesse, or if she were ignorant of rites (as she might be at the first) another did it for her, as *Clytemnestra* did for *Electra* upon her request. But indeed it should be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemnestra* her selfe confessed,

Αἶαντος τὸ δ' ἔργον, ἢ σ' ἔλυσε ἐν τόκῳ.

During her lying in, the greatest part of her food was colwort.

Enrip. *Electra*.
11.28.

C A P. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurfes during the time of sucking, were called *τῖθαί* (from *τῖθαι* the same that *μαστῖ* the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (*ἀπογαλκτικῆσαι*) *πρὸς* dry Nurfes. Now the custome was for the Nurfes (the better to harden the Children *usu liberioris* * *anya*, and to make the Nurfes the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the streets : and in case they should be unquiet, the Scholiast upon those words of *Aristophanes*,

οὐ μοι χυτρίδων πογγίω βεβυβήνον.

Saies, they were wont to have a sponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpose. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedæmonian* the fittest for a Nurse, (& such a one *Alcibiades* had himselfe) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were so proud, that they counted it a disparagement to them, to be Nurfes themselves. And therefore the Woman in *Demosthenes*, when it was objected to her, that she had sometimes used this base employment, was fain to excuse it by the necessity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And so likewise you shall find *Hecuba* in *Ænripides* complaining of her unhappinesse, that she must be forced to such an office as this was. When they would lull (as we call it) or lull a child asleep, they used *lallare* to cry *λάλα*, or *βαυλαῖν*, to sing songs to it, Their songs they called *καταβαυκαλίσειν*, and sometimes *ναῖναι*. (for so is *nania* used in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib 7. Somno occupari ut possint leves audienda sunt nania.*) such a kind of song is that in *Theocritus*.

Εὐδὲτ' ἰμβρίεια γλυκερὴν χ' ἰγέρσιμον ὕπνον,

Εὐδὲτ' ἰμὰ φύχῃ, δὲ ἀδελφικὴν τεύχεα.

Οἱ βιοὶ ἐνδύοιτο ἐν ἡλίοις ἀνέμοις.

Sleep my little souls, &c,

For thus they were wont to ἐνδύοιτο to the child, calling it also sometimes ἐνδύοι or ἐνδύοι, or ἐνδύοι, and the like.

C. A. P. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUT we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dye of it selfe, or be exposed to dye by the Parents. If it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold burial without any fire, or any funeral sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of * *Juvenal*) *minor igne Rogi*. Which practice is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to persuade her not to grieve for the death of her child, saies he, ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ τῇ πολυταλείᾳ παινηρικῇ οὐκ ἔτι τὸν νόμον. The custom of exposing children, which the Grecians call ἐκτίθεσθαι, with the people of ancient times was very usual; it was exercised upon such Children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We * read indeed that *Moses* was used thus, because he was שׁוֹר or a goodly child: but he was rather hidden from *Pharaoh*, than exposed to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose called by them Μῆχρ, oppointed to examine every child, whether it were εὐπαγὴς ἢ ἰσχυρὰ ἢ ἰσχυρὰ sound, or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Uncle *Amilius*, sometimes a sinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

Sat. 6.

Exod. 7. v. 2.

—votaque sepe

Ad spurcos decepta lacus.

Sometimes a deep pit, such as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places, such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* saies: & in alta nemora pabulum misit feris *Avidia* — and sometimes the wide Sea, as *Iustin* saies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem suū in mare projici jussit*. If a child were exposed any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it τῷ στυβάσι fasciis, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot some would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*.

—verum vidi *Cantharum*

Suffarcinatum. As if it were *Suffasciatum*. Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *suffarcinatum*, for as much as *succinctam*. It is sometimes called ὄρεον, as by *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, where he speaks of *Oedipus* thus,

—αὐτὸν γινώσκον

Ἐξέδωκεν δὲ ὄρεον—

And sometime γυτεγ, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes γυτεγν *exponere*. What kind of thing that ἀνῆκε was, wherein *Creusa* expos'd her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot so well determine. *Enripides* saies it was ἀγγεῖον a vessel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skin, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

—ἀναβύξας σκῦτῷ

Εἰλατο δὲ ἀνῆκε.

Me thinks it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly so than *Moses* מִצְנֶה can be: for first he saies there was σκῦτῷ εἰλατὸν skin or leather, roll'd or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fasten'd or lock'd of one side: ἀνῆκε ab ἀνῆ and κέκλυται, as our trunks are. 3. it was round also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

κἀκὴ θάσσῃ αἶς διαβύμενον

Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντήρῃς ὁ εὐτερέχων ἐκείνῳ.

And for ἄγγον, that will serve well enough for any such thing, as well as *vas*, or a *vessel*. If the child were exposed on the Water, it was usually put in a thing made like a basket, made of oziars, or bulrushes, dawb'd & clos'd with slime and pitch, such as that we read of in * *Exodus*, But though * *c. 1. v. 3.* they thus set him out to the mercy of fortune, they would be sure to set him forth too, in the best manner they could with rings and jewels, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to do as they did to the dead, according to that

— ἡ μὲν ἄρχη παρθίνῃ ἡ χλιδίῳ

a *Enrip. Ion. vi*
26.

τίειναι πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὥς διασώζοντο.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would * *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his *πρόβα*, or *προβόεια*, his charge *Tollaret.* to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the paines, to bestow the cost too in the burying, according to that in * *Terence.*

— cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum

* *Heauton. At.*
3. Sc. 1.

Detraho, & eum ut unā cum pullā exponeret.

Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

These *πύγναι*, or *crepundia*, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called *ἐκρίβεια*, as they were likewise called *γυνεῖσμα*, for they were many times, bottles and bells, and such like toys. (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & marks) because they were for another end yet besides the former, *viz* ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῖται (saies * *one*) not to adorn him, but to mark him so as to know * *Die Chrysele* him again, and to set the parents name therein, as we use to fasten collars and such like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bells were fastned to find him by the noise, as we do our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this in-

tent to be killed (as some would have *exponere* and *neare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of fear it would be killed, if it were not exposed (as it was with *Moses* :) and sometimes (if it were a Bastard) they put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it, for if she bred it up her selfe, every body would know it. Besides, when they were exposed with that intent, the parents for the most part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men than such as were exposed, as might be made appear by sundry examples. At the best, exposing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and so did the Romans too afterwards : among whom no exposed child could be free of the city. And yet *Aristotle* could afford to prescribe it, *ἡ δὲ πόλις ὅταν μὴ δύνῃ ἀποποιεῖν τὸ τέκνον*. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Physicks*, i.e. his natural affection. Our putting out children to Nurse, many times proves little better than exposing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in secret, and secure from an enemy, as *Orestes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægysthus*. And therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth calls it *κρυπτήν ἡγήσιν*; & so you might have called him *ὑβ. οὐκ ἀπαμείβετο*, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of exposing. I will proceed to speak of the customs they used in education onely, because their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be necessary to speak a word first of the several sorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

According to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ο γυνή, or ὀρίδαυη, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐν γυναικὶ ἀγνὸς καὶ γαμετὸς, the Son of a married free Woman. 2. Ο ὄβη, qui Latine *reddi non potest*, saies * *Quintilian*, the son either of a forreign Woman, or a Concubine; such a Son, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to do with the name, or the kindred of his Father, ὅτι τὸ πρὸς ὄβῳ μὴ εἶναι ἀσχέτιον saies *Aristophanes*: * and if the case were thus when the Mother was a stranger, how just a cause had *son* in the Poet, to complain as he did ?

L. 3. c. 6.

^a In Avib. Eur.
rip. v. 591.

Πατρὸς τ' ἐπακτῆ, καὶ αὐτὸς αὖ νοθαγενής
Μηδὲν καὶ ἄδεν αὖ κακλήσμενα,

But if the Father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we may believe *Eustathius* upon ^b *Homer* concerning *Tencer*, ^b Il. 7. who was a *nobus* himself) being well born he must needs be lawfully born, and so he was held in as great esteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regia fuit ut legitimam uxorem non habentes, aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitima haberent, ut liberi ex ipsa nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a portion onely of a thousand *drachma* at the most: * this portion they called τὸ νοθαῖον, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מנה which † *Abraham* gave to the sonnes of his concubines: it was the value of πνπμῶν of five *mina* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiter's* bastard by *Alcmena* the wife of *Amphitryon*) when *Pisitheros* had told him, that being ὄβῳ, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus;

Harpor.

Gen. 25 c. 6.

Τὸ δ' αὖτὶς πατὴρ διδοῖ τὰ χρήματα

Τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that, But the other reply'd again and confuted his answer, by urging *Solons* Law, which ordered indeed, that the *nothi* should μετὰ τῶν ἑτερογενῶν, have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be onely for default of legitimate children, and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in his speech περὶ Μανδραγόρος. Thirdly, Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄν obscure son, whose Father we know not: in Latine *Spurium* or *Favonium*. as if he were nothing but *terra filius*, rising out of the ground like the wind, or as if he were begotten of the wind, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father; like the eggs which they call *ωννύματα*, made by the hens without the help of the cock In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* *ωννύματι παῖδα*, because they fained him to be born of *Juno*, but begot of the Wind, or they knew not whom. 4ly. Ο παρ' ἑνὸς, ὅς τις ἐκ τῶν ἀκούσιων παρ' ἑνὸς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου, saies *Pollux*, A Son born in Wedlock, of a woman with child when sh^e married, whom the Husband took for a Maid. To these may be added, first, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄν or ὁ παρ' ἑνὸς, a son not begotten, but made, or adopted: of whom (it may be) I shall speak more anon. Secondly, *Εὐδ' ἑρ' ὅς* liber, whose father was ἀπαλ' ἑρ' ὅς *libertus*, made free, and thirdly *ἐλευθ' ὅς* *ingenuus*, the son of ἀλ' ὅς ὅς. Any son begotten by a Father in his old age, or the onely child, or the onely beloved, they usually called * πάλυτον,

* I Poll.

CAP.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is said of Greece, that it took the best course in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the world. In so much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of *Κρηνη*, by way of excellency above the rest. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the same to *Ithaca*, as *Cicero* does that of *Nidulus*? In *Aristophanes* his *Theſmophoriazusa*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Woman, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κρηνης τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῇ here be *Tellus* in general, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* κατ' ἑσχαλίω, the best Nurse of the best, I know not, but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, viz. that *Eriſthionius* the poor expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankful acknowledgment of his education in that land, first sacrificed to this τῇ Κρηνης, and having built an Altar of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other God, should ταύτῃ προσδύειν, do it to her first. Well let us see a little what their manner of education was. They say the Children were usually taught πῶτον καλυβᾶν, δύνειν ἢ κολυμβᾶν, first to swimme and dive, and then to read; Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade, if able and rich, to Philosophy, Musick, Gymnical exercises, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in case his Father should come to poverty, he was not bound to maintain * him, as otherwise he was. * *Plut. in Solon.*

Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater sort in a lustfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἀνδράδοι *Pages*: all such *Catanites* or *Ganymedes* were usually called * πῶδες, though I * *Hesych.*
know

know, πῶλα and Καυμάς too, are frequently used by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Castigatione &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborn in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, was to shew him her breasts, ὡς κρείττους ἰσθμείας, saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as the most powerful motive she had. But the Fathers and the Masters took another course with him. If a boy had deserved to be whipt, he should be sure enough of his wages from them, for they tyed him fast πρὸ ξύλων, to a block, to make him kiss the post; or πρὸ πασσάλων, to a stake, or a pinne, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διαπαλαιῶναι. Διαπαλαιῶναι δὲ τίσι χαμαί, saies he in *Aristophanes*, which is rendred by *Frischlin*, *Dissentum affigere humi*, as if they stretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, & armes, & leggs to pins fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called ^b τυμπαρίζεσθαι, or κατατυμπαρίζεσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the stretching or pulling off the skinne, onely *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët speaks when he saies. Ἡ βύρσα ᾧ θρασιώσεται, from the θρίον, or the stoole, whereon they stretcht him or beat him, as they would a skin or a hide. That torture of one of the seaven brethren in the *Macchabees*, pulling his skin off his head, may very well be reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympanismū* to have been a torture or a rack exercis'd upon any by Tyrants, rather than a punishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so *Aristotle* in the second book of his *Rhetorick*, saies that *An-*
tiphen

a In Equit.

b Ep. ad Hebr. c.
1. v. 35.

c L. 2. c. 7. v. 7.

d L. 2. c. 8. v. 38.

riphon the Poët, was used by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. And in the sixth Chapter of the same Book, speaking of the want of all fear, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evils, he instances in those that are thus used; ὡς περ οἱ ἀποτυμ-
 πανίζεσθαι. And so *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon those flatterers of *Ptolemy*, that even τυμωσιζοντες, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durst not open their mouths to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of τυμωσιζουσι when they would but beat a fellow with clubs, which they called τύμωσα, (if that be not rather the word for the block, upon which they suffered, for the Scholiast on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Pluto*, ὁ τύμωσα καὶ κώωνι — saies both is' οἷς, on which, and οἷς, with which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* ἀποτυμωσέν τὸ παιδίον &c. But to return to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word παῖσα in that Poët, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as Master. For instance, in *Thestomphoriazuse*, when one kept a great deale of noise, and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a παῖσα in his mouth.

—ἐμβαλεῖσσι

Παῖσα ἔστιν ὡς ἐν σποπῇ.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hogs mouth, when they would see whether it had τὰς χαλῆζας, the Haile, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poët himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatening to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themistius*, under the name of ἀποσπασθῆναι in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagosus Orbilius*, that used to pay the poor and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay him no better; saies he, παῖδας δ' ὡς τῷ ἀποσπασθῆναι, &c. And so *Promethæus*, whom

the Gods tyed to *Cancasus*-hill for stealing fire, is said by *Menander*, to have been *οὐκ ἔπαισθη αὐμύνει*, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

Εἰτ' ὁ δὲ αἰὼς περὶ πᾶσι παλαιόμηνον

Γεγονῆσι τὸ Περμεδέα περὶ τὸ πῆγρον.

Where he prettily pleads his cause, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for so small a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For first, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to do it, unlesse it were found in the act of adultery) any one might sell his child when he ^a pleased. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might *ἀποκυρῆσαι* τὸν υἱόν, ^b *abdicere filium suum*, turn him out of doors. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, saies * *Demosthenes*: and then the *κρίνεις*, or the Cryer, went about, and cryed that ὁ δῆνα, such a one did deny τὸν δῆνα, such a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus used, was said *ἐκπίπτειν τὸ γένος*, to be rejected out of the Family, and was called *ἀποκύρηκτος*. If he were received into favour again, he was said *ἀναλαμβάνειν τὸ γένος*, to be taken into the family again: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

^a *Plat. in Sol.*

^b *Lucian.*

περὶ βολέων.

CAP. XII.

De ascriptione in φερεῖαι.

THE Sonnes when they came to be three years old at the soonest, and seven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the *φερεῖραι*, and registred in the Tribe. But before they could be registred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithstanding the Oathes, those heads of the Tribe if they listed, might question the matter, and put them to a suit in * Law. The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast *Ἀπαρῆαι*. Which was so called, either according

* *Demost.*

ἐν Μαιῶν.

ding to the Etymological dictionary, because the sons, which before might be thought *ἀπάτρεις* *Id*, to have no Father, did now make it appear, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, because at that feast, *εἴτε πατέρες ἢ οἱ θυγατέρες* *Id* *συνοίσι* *Id* *σφίσιν* *Id* *αὐτοῖς*, the fathers met altogether: and so it must be call'd *Ἀπατέρια*, in that manner as a wife is call'd, *ἄλοχος*, for *ὀυλόχῃ* *Id*, or *ἀκούτις*, for *ὀυδαιτίας*. where A is *ἀπα*, & not a privative, as likewise in *ἀπανθής*, and many other such words. The third day of the feast was called by the name of *Κυρῆνις*, *ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα*, as who would say a *Shearing-feast*: because at that time they used to *cut their hair*. The hair which they cut, they called *μαλλὸν*, or *κολλὸν*, or *ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πλάγῃ*, in opposition to *πανδητῆς*, that which they cut at a funeral. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nourished of purpose till that time, and consecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appear by the practice of *Bacchus* himself: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing else to dissuade him, but to tell him it was sacred, (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*.)

ἡ ἑρπεὶς ὁ πλόκῳ τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὸν ἔχον.

Numb. c. 6. v. 5.

a Eurip. in Bacch. 494.

And thus *Theseus* is said to have consecrated his hair to *Apollo* at *Delos*, The hair thus cut, because it was the first time that ever they cut it, and because it was done by way of an offering, they called *ἡμέρας ἀπαρχῆς*, the first fruits of the hair, (for the word both English, Greek, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is first.) Such first fruits of his Beard *Nero* put into a Golden boxe, which he adorned with pretious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

b Sueton. c. 12. ejus vicia.

If the children were of a noble blood, they would go as far as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, some to one God, and some to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were Gods enough of conscience) at *Rome*, beside *Apollo*, whom still one or other was careful to supply (notwithstanding his own *Intonsum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos a vertice crines,

Martial.

Mar. Ep. 9.

Æsculapins was remembred too: For *Statius* speaks of one *Earinus*, that sent his hair to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beset with Jewels, and a looking glasse besides,

—dulcesque capillos,

Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Vestal Virgins hung up theirs upon a Tree: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris*? The Nuns, the Vestal virgins of these times have no such need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they bestow a love lock for entrance, as I have heard it reported. But let me not run on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registring in the Tribe book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enrolling of them into the *Ἀνδριεῖων ὑπαρχαίων* at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias* in *Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, saies, that when they went to be registred, they were *ἡλικίᾳ τριῶν ἔτη*, three or four years old, and there is my authority. 2ly. *Cnemon* in *Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to School, which is like to have been sooner than at fifteen years old: and there is my example. 3ly it is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Registring they offered up the first-fruits of their hair: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rellius &c.* it is all one to me,

CAP. XIII.

De ascriptione in Epheborum censum, et in album Lexiarchicū.

VHen they came too be eighteen years old, ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἰσθμῷ, they were listd among the number of those that were ἐπὶ τοῖς πύλαις puberes. And to this purpose they had certain Officers appointed to search them to see whether they were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) ἐπιτολὰς τὴν πόλιν, to keep Guard, or doe service in the City, (of which hereafter.) This search or examination was called ἀντιστάσις. If they were found to be puberes, sound wind and limb, and like to prove Souldiers, they were led into the Temple of *Argulus*, where they took a solemn oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon Κερασίν too, and that may be the occasion of the difference I lately spake of. Neither were these later rites performed without cutting of hair too. But commonly the fashion was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to consecrate their hair, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in: τῷ ἑκαστοῦ ποταμοῦ. Thus much may be gathered from ^b *Persius* his vow to consecrate his hair to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* returned in safety: and ^c *Memnon's* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as ^{*} *Paul* shaved his hair at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion,) The *Nazarites*, when they cut their hair of ^{*} *consecration*, were to make use of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongst the Greeks the custome of paying tribute for their hair, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cause of life and growth) was very usuall both in men & women, especially in times of mourning, when they cut it most. I remember *Helena* in *Enripides*, where she bemoans the condition of the

Schol. in Hom.

11. ↓

^b *Pausan* in att.

^c *Philost.*

Act. 18. 18.

Num. 3.

poor *Trojans*, and the said fruits of the Warre, speaks of such a thing done by the *Virgins* at the river *Scamander*.

a *Eurip. Helen.*
v. 372.

Αὐτὸς παρδίων κίμας

Εἴπωρ οὐ γὰρ ἀνέμεινε

Σκαμάνδαν οὐκ ἐπὶ πρύον οἶδμα.

Unlesse you had rather think it was done (according to the custome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I should have told you that before they cut their hair, (I mean when they went out *Ephēbi*) they first took a vessel of Wine (αἶνον οἶνον, saies *Hesychius*) and having consecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there present. This ceremony, they called τὸ οἶνισθαια from the Wine. And here it may not be amisse, to mention the distinction, which you shall find in the Poets of two severall waies of cutting of their hair, in use among the Greeks. The one was κῆρυξ, when they did but pare their hair, as they would do the borders in a garden: the other called εκάριον, when they shaved it so close to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάον, a Skiffe, or a boat. When they came to be two years *puberes*, ἐνδύετ' ἡβώντες, (as *Demosthenes* calls it) or twenty years old: εἰς αἶδ' ἐγὼ ἐκέλευε δνοαί they wrote men, or they became sui juris, and their names were registred by the *Demarchus* in his ἀρχιάρχικον λεύκωμα, in *Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names, of all those that belonged to his *Demus*. It had this name παρὰ τὸ λεῖκον, (or κλήρον) ἀρχεον, because as soon as any one's name was written therein, he might be master of an estate himselfe if he had it. Besides this book, there was μνάριον πύξιον a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to set down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father: Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepsion*.

CAR,

C A P. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumniis prabenda.

WHen the Father came to age, or necessity, if the Son refused to support him (unless he were a *nothos*, or had not been bred up to a calling) he might be served with a Writ τῆς κατὰ δίκην ἐπὶ γονέων, and if he were convicted, his punishment was to be excommunicated all Society, both sacred and civil; and to be fined a mulct besides. This maintenance and succour, he was bound by a Law of Solons making, to afford not onely to his Parents, but to any friend else, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ σπένδῃ, and σπεντήρια, or σπένδα, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckon'd themselves so strongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing so much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad*. 9.

—ὃ δὲ τοῦτο

ὅπως τὰς αἰῶνας ἀπὸ δόξης μὴ μὲν ἀδίδῃ δὲ οἱ αἰὼν
Εὔλεθ'.

a L. 6.

—nec reddit a charo

Nutrimenta patri brevibus præceptis in annis.

Insomuch that the Parent might very well say to his child
dren^b *Non est beneficiū quod poscitis, sed facinus quod negatis.* b *Quintil. decl. 6*
And indeed I must needs say thus much for them, I have found them for the most part, very careful to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in use among them, viz. If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home again, the Daughters themselves, presently fell to washing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἄρκος ἰωνμῶν καὶ πατέρων καὶ τῶν γονέων saith the Scholiast, insomuch that *Emphron* (saith he) thought that *Homer* had used the Epithete

a In *Alisi*, Vesp.

Epithete *λιπαροί* for the feet, in allusion to this anointing. (it may be) they used to kisse them too (as *Shee* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes*.

Eurip. Med. v.
333.

—ὃς αὖτε ἢ ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀπενίχης, ἢ τῷ πόδι' ἀλάτῃ καὶ προκύβασα φιλήσῃ.
For the Children thus to maintain their Parents out of an *Antipylargy*, and to feed the old ones like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word *γυροβοχέειν*, and so *Medea* uses the word to her children at parting.

—ἢ γοῖ ἰλπίσιν
Πολλὰς ἐπ' οὐμὶν γυροβοχέεισιν τ' ἱμέ.
Next to the charges of maintaining the parent when he is old, are those of burying him, when he is dead; and those to be born by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay down that lie in his room, which being then very old, he must shortly leave in his own, Well (saies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now:*

a Idem in Al-
cest. v. 664.

αὐτοὶ γυροβοχέεισιν καὶ θάττοντα σε
Περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ προθέουσιν ἵνα κενόν.
That will you feed, and shrowd your head,
And Lay you forth when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man so neer his end: we will shew him what courie he is to take for the disposing of his estate, only because if he should have no children at all, or none such as they should be, there might be a doubt what to do; I will speak a word of that first.

C A P. XV.

! De adoptione, testamento, & hereditate.

Isæ. de Arist.

I F a man had either no child at all, or none that was *γνήσιος*, free born, he had power * to adopt him a *νόθος* or

or any one else. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, sign'd and seal'd in the presence of the Magistrate, as their wills were wont to be. Whosoever was thus adopted, must first be made free of the City, and then be ascrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this last was to be done upon the feast of *Θαρίσια* in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his old Tribe (which they were not bound to do among the Romans) he was not to return to it again, till he had begotten a child in the new. As for the mans estate it passed to another, either *κατὰ γένος* by descent, or *κατὰ νόμον* by virtue of a will. Now by Solons laws (for before their estate could not be convey'd but to those of the kinred) a man might make any body his heire of any estate, that he had, which was not in controversie: but with these six qualifications. First he himself must be no fool nor Mad-man. 2. No prisoner, so as to make his will against his will: for then it could be no Will. 3. No stranger: for then his estate went to the common treasure. 4. No adopted man: for such a ones estate if he wanted a child, was to pass to the * next of the Adopters kinred. 5. Not perswaded thereunto by Demost. ad his Wife: for such a one (saies my * Author) *καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς ἔστιν, ὡς ἔστιν* *Leotbar.* is little better than a mad-man. 6. Not having a male child Id cont. O. of his own, for then the inheritance should go to him. *lympiodorum.* And if there were more males than one, they were to be *κοινωνοί*, copartners, or joint-tenants. But in case he had no male child at all, and died without a Will, the estate fell to the next Male of the Kinred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not *γνήσιοι*, free born and legitimate: the Daughter was to be *ἐπίκληρος*, or *ἐπίκληρος* *ἐπίκληρος* sole heir. And therefore he in *Aristophanes Avibw*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not possibly be *ἐπίκληρος* τῷ *Ζησίτερ*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate sons:

— πῶς αὖ ποῦ

Επίκληρος ἱδὲ τῷ *Αθηναίῳ* *Δούτῃ*:

G g

Οὔποτε

Οὗτοι δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ἀλλοῦ γινώσκου,

Isæus de Aristarch.

Demost. contr. Stephan.

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not go beyond μέτρον κριθῶν, fix bushels, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claim to it before the Pretor: which thing they called κληρῶν ἢ κληρῶν, or ἐπιδικασαδὲς τῷ κλήρῳ. And if any one would πρὸς τὸν βούλειον, lay in any thing to defeat the claim, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner; onely first, I will satisfie him of the necessity of having a burial.

C A P. XVI.

De necessitate sepultura.

I Remember Cicero in his Topicks, divides justice into three kinds, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem*: of the second kind of justice viz. to the dead, I do find every where among the ancients so religious a care, and such sacred esteems of a buriall, that sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funeral acknowledged and called to be *τὸ νόμιμον* by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins. Insomuch that the Athenians had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcase of another, whosoever it were, he should be bound to cast earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe,

—*a Capiti inhumato*

Particulam dare.—

Ælian. Var.

Hist. l. 5 c. 14

(n) Horace l.

1. Od. 28.

The Romans (it seems by Quintilian, Declam. 5. observed this

this custome exceeding well, for (sayes he) *Ignotis cadaveribus humum congerimus, & insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantuloquq; veneretur aggestu.* And if any one omitted the duty, he must take satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam præcidantem* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Antis. Festim. c. 14.* goes farther: *οὐδὲν ὁρῶντες ἄτακτον ἐν ἑκαμύσειον κόριν ἐπὶ γῆς ἵδδον.* Whosoever saw a dead body, and did not put the dust upon it, was not onely a breaker of the Law, but *ἐπὶ γῆς*, a *scelus*, an accursed devoted fellow, *anathema*, (for what should the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted *τὸ ἄτακτον*, *κατασφῆρα*, saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, and *ἡ γὰρ ταχὺ θάνατος θάνατος μὴ ἰλασθῆς ἵδδον*, very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongst them, than *ἐκπύρην γῆρας*, that he might not be covered with the Earth. Methinks I see *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles* as he was ready to stab him; and *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his sword) earnestly beseeching them not to suffer their bodies, when their soules were removed to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat for the dogs and the birds. Hence surely it was, that the ancients stood so much in fear of a death upon the Sea; or a shipwrack because of death: for there they could never be interred.

Demite nanfragium, & mors mihi munus erit. saies *Ovid*. In somuch that when they went to Sea, or at least when they feared to be cast away (as we call it, for there if the Soul be gone, we have lost the body too) their custome was to fasten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him, that should find it, and bury it, if it were cast a shore. *Φέρειν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκ ναυαγίου νεκρὸν, ὃς περὶ τὸν ἐκπύρην γῆρας ἐπὶ γῆς αἰδῶται, μὴ ὅτι μικρὸν τι αὐτῷ ἀποδοσθῆναι τῷ κατὰ μὲν πολλὰ πλάσσει;* Sayes *Synesius* in one

of his Epistles. Moreover not onely if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as soon as possibly it could, it was counted *μισήματα τῷ τῷ πατρὶ*, as if they had offended the *manes*: whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it *μισήματα τῷ τῷ πατρὶ*, that they had done them a pleasure. You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of *Homer. Iliad. 7.*

— ἰσμεν δ' ἀνὰ πύρρος ἀνιόντων ἄνα.

Alex. ab
Alex. l. 3. c.
7.

Patroclus is said to have been angry with *Achilles* for such a delay, and how true it is which one sayes, that the bodies were kept fourteen dayes and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I do not yet find.

C A P. XVII.

De ter vocanda anima, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happinesse of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country. Infomuch that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the body, they were wont with solemn and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, *ἀνακαλίσαντες τὸν ψυχῶν*. — *manes ter voce vocare* (as I may say) to give a bellow for the Soul: which they thought was still quick enough to come to them. ^a*Pindar* sayes, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Colchis*, desir'd *Pelias* to see this office perform'd for him,

^a In *Pyth.*
Od. 4.

— καὶ εἰς τὸν ἦν

ψυχῶν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ

And so *Ulysses*, after he had lost threescore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, presently made it his businesse (sayes *Homer*) — καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν: to give a whoop for every one threentimes. As *Theocritus* sayes of *Hylas*, καὶ τὸν ἦν ἄνδρα. In *Virgil* he is named but twice.

Il. 13. Ecl. 6.

— *Hylas nauta quo fonte reliquitum*

Clamassent: ut lictus Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret:

Doubt-

Doubtlesse they would have been glad, to believe their *bonies* also might be rolled under ground, into their native Country, as some of the *Jewes* do think theirs shall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themselves, it could be to little purpose. For as I remember, one in *Aristophanes's Ranis* saies concerning the dead.

Οἱς ἐξ ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τῆς ἐξέκβυσσας.

Helén. v.
1562.

They are gone so far *εἰς ὄντω* (*εἰς* *to go* is used also for *to dye*, we say a man is *dead*, and *gone*) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But must this be all? can there be no way else to honour the man, unlesse you can finger the carcassee? yes, he shall be kept safe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a Monument they called *Κενοτάφιον*: and to bury a *mon* thus in effigie (as I may say) *κενοτάφειν*, as in **Euripides*.

Ὁν τῶν σαρξὶς οὐκ ἔστι δῶν τε κενοτάφειν.

The Scholiast upon the same Poët in *Hecuba*, gives a full testimony of the custome, saying that, *Εἰσάγουσι οἱ Ἕλληες τὰς ἐκκλῆν τὰς κατερδωμένας, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ ταφάντι, ἵστουσι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῶν ἰμνίουσι*, though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. Nonnus calls this *Cenotaphium Κενοτάφιον*, from *κεῖν* a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father. — *Tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem*

Constituit — *c* Progne for Philomela.

b *Virg. Æn.*
6.

— *&* *inane Sepulchrum*.

Constituit. — The *Pythagoreans* for those *qui à Philosophia sua descivissent*, (accounting them as bad as departed out of the life, that had departed from their principles) The *Athenians* for all those that died upon the Sea.

(*c*) *Ovid. l. 6.*
fab 8.

Οἱς ἐξ ἑπτά ἡμερῶν τῆς ἐξέκβυσσας.

Ὁδύσσεια — sayes the Poët concerning *Helena's* husband. Tis worth our labour to read the story, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a

beer, as if his body were there, and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drown it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed between *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. τί δ' ἐστὶ τῶντων πύβος; ὃ δ' ἀφ' αὐτῆς;

Hel. Ἐλασὶν ἐκείνη, ὃς δὲ ἀν' αὐτῇ δάνη.

Theoc. τί δ' αὖν, τοιοῦτο τοῦ πύβου τὰ τοιαῦτα.

Hel. Κινεῖται δὲ πύβος ἐνθάδε.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an empty beer, in pomp, and a burial, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his burial, he in * *Aristophanes* comforted himself and his friend ὁ Κυρμαῖος λέγει τοῦ. what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as * *Ovid* says.

Et saepe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.

* *In avibus.*

* *L. 11. fab.*
10.

C A P. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis qua in homicidiis fieri solebant.

THe customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different wayes by which he came to his end, viz. Violent, and Natural. And first of the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himself (αὐτοκτονία) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body. So saies *Cal. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In doing or (falling down) Men and Women, but especially the Women were exceeding careful, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but κυρμαῖος πύβος, as *Euripides* saies of *Polyxena*. If another killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would do after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take

take the sword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the blood on it, συμβολὴν τῷ ἡλίῳ προσδύναι, (saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides* upon *Orestes*) to shew that he fear'd not if heaven were witness, & all the world knew of the fact. If he had done it unjustly, instead of *showing* the blood, he wip'd it off in the hair of the party slain: ὡς ὅτε ἀποτεσπυζοῖν τὸ μῦθον ἐς τὸ φθῆναι (sayes the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, and wipe away the abomination of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιον and πῦρ-νικὸς πόλεος (as he sayes) i. e. if the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred: he could never wipe it so clean, but some would stick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided amulets and spells to keep them off. And what better thing than a part of the body it self? for having that in their power as a hostage, to do what they would with it, the Ghost of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or else would spare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as soon as they had slain him, they cut off all the extreme or outmost parts of the outmost members, and sewing them, or tying them together wore them under their arme pits. The extremities thus used they call'd ἀκρωτήρια, and so use the body ἀκρωτηρίαζον, so as they call'd it likewise, if they did but cut the tops of the eares when a man had committed a fault, saies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λωβάζειν, from λοβεῖν the lap of the eare. Though that word, and λυμάνειν, be also used for as bad usage as ἀκρωτηρίαζον: unlesse you will say this was properly said to be done, when they killed the party quite. Those ἀκρωτήρια, are sometimes call'd ἀπόρυμα or ἑξέρημα, as in **Apollonius*, where he speaks of *Abrysus* his being thus used by his sister *Medea*.

Soph. in Electra.

L 4

Ἦν δ' Αἰωνίδης ἑξέρματα τῆμεν θανόντος.

Ἡ δέ μιν αὐθιγῇσι θλοκτασῆς ἰλάσσει.

And sometimes μαχαλινα fr ὁ μαχαλίζειν, the same that ἀκρωτηρίαζον; because oftentimes they hung those pieces of the body

ἔως ῥαίων to their armeholes, of which Sophocles speaks thus,
 Τὸ ἥν δαυὸν ἀνιμῶ ἄνδρ' ἀνιμῶν,
 Εὐαγγλίδην.

But if he had kill'd the man by treachery, he hung those pieces about his neck, and taking some of the blood, spit three times in his mouth. This fashion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noses, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in use likewise among the Romans: not onely upon men slain, (as *Quintilian* sayes, *truncas partibus suis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil* *Æn.* 6.

Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacrum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manusq̃ue ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhonesto vulnere nares.

C. 1. v. 7.

That practice of *Adonibezek's*, which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *Acrotetiasmus*, as this was.

The usual punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly, he must fly his own Country and get into another, (as the Israelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*.) Being there, he must betake himself (saith the Scholiast) *εἰς τινος οἴκον ἢ σπὺς πλυντῆς*, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an *ἰκέτης*, or *Petitioner*) and there let him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) *καθαροῦν δέμῳ*, to expiate the fact, and purge himself of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred, he must tarry out of his Countrey a whole year at the least. *Euseb. Hist.* sayes antiently they suffered them sometimes to redeem their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it seems to have been otherwise: Inasmuch that a Murderer was not onely forbid *ἕμεθ' αὐτῶν*, or *ἑμῶν ἀντιχρῶν*, to participate in their Sacrifices himself. But every Body else (of his own Country was forbid to receive him into his house. Nay the

Josephus c. 20.
 * On Homer.
 Il. O.

* Schol. in
Eurip. Hip.
 a Lib. 18.

they might not be allowed to *ſpeak* to him: as thinking him
δὲ οὐ βέβαιον, ὡς ἄν, ſο unholy a thing, as that he might not have
 the name of a Man, as *Euripides* ſaies *ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καλῷ*. 11.X.
 The Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, ſaies that
 among the *Thſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave,
 where the party was buried whom he had ſlain, as *Enridamus*
 did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thraſymus*.

C A P. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulſandis anis uſis,
& amiciendo corpore.

IT was the Cuſtome among the Greeks, as well as among
 the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or
 his Sun was a ſetting, as they uſed to ſay, — *ἴλιον αὐτοῦ δίδου*
καὶ to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the 7 *Theoc.*
 kinred: and they call'd it *Σύγκλεισιν τῶ ὀφθαλμοῦ*. The perform-
 ing of this ceremony by the Kinred, was ſo much valued,
 that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappineſſe, to dye in
 ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to do 11.O.
 it: as *Ulyſſes* ſaies.

— *ὅτε σὺ σὺ γὰρ πατὴρ ἐν πότνιᾳ μῆτιρ*

Ὅτε καὶ παῖς σὺ δαΐδης —

If a man died ſuddainly, *ἀνέχτο* (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ho-*
mer) it was attributed to *Apollo*; if a Woman to *Diſna*. I know 11.
 not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old
 Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they
 had a cuſtome likewise to make a great ringing with veſſels
 of braſs, (*Bells*, ſome render it) to fright away the Hob-
 goblins, and Furies from the Soul. For ſuch a kind of
 ſound (he ſaies) is *καθαρός ἐν ἀπαλαστέρι* *ἢ μαγμάτων* of a
 ſpecial virtue for ſuch effects. But elſe I ſhould rather ima-
 gine it to have been done for the ſame end, that a Roman
 Conclamaſion was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but

H h

dead

dead a sleep (not dead and gone) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclipse, when they thought her asleepe. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cloath: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur. Hipp. v.
148.

Κρίνον δὲ με σείσασιν αἷς τὰ χεῖρ' ὀφθαλμοῖς.

And indeed the whole business of stretching out and throwing the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin, And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the *Greeks* that besieged them, saies, That they, having the happiness to dye at home among their friends and kintred, were

Χερσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἢ ἐχθρῶν ὄντων.

Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin. If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the children did it. And so *Medea* tells her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self.

Eur. Med. v.
1036.

Καὶ καταδανύσιν χερσὶν ἢ σπείλαιον.

If the Husband died, the Wife did it. Which happiness the *Greek* Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at *Troy*.

Troad. v. 177.

—ὃ δάμαρτόν ἐσ' ἡμεῖς

Πέτροις συνετάληκα.

If a brother, the sister Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully.

Id. Iphig. in Taur

Φῶ, πῶς αὖ μ' ἀδελφεὶ χεῖρ σπείλειεν αὖν.

A lack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now?

C A P. XX.

De off. Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

a in una Nu-
mo.

THE body being dead, began from thence to be SACRED, sacred, those that are dead are called ἱερὰ by *Plutarch*, & the

the graves themselves *ἀγνὰ ἡπια* by *Lychophon*, as soon as the body was in. Sacred I say, that is not to be injured, far enough from holy, insomuch that if a man had but toucht it, *νεκρὸν εἶναι χέειν* (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any holy thing after, till he had washed, as *πυγμαῖς*, as a Jew: Toucht did I say? when *Hippolytus* lay a dying, *Diana* would not so much as stay and see him dead, for fear of pollution.

Καὶ χεῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔστιματ' ἐδὴ καὶ ὄψιν,

Οὐδ' οὐμα χεῖρας, *Δαμάρμοισι* ἱεροῖσιν.

The same may be said of the graves *δυσήμοιο πύου*, saies *Hesiod*, for *ἀγνὰ* they were not, but only in this sense, that they were *ἀεινὰ*, not to be medled with, as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet,

Μηδ' ἴσ' ἀνυπόμιστο γὰρ ζέην—

Insomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quest.* saies, that those men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of *ἀγνοὶ* themselves, the whole performance of the ceremonies which used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholias*t upon *Æschylus*) *Συγκαμνὴ*, as the elation or carryng forth, was called *ἐκκαμνὴ*. The ceremonies were these. First they took a piece of money above a half penny (twas dearer there than at *Rome*) & put it into his mouth to speak his fare to the *πρόδρομος*, or *Ferriman*, *Charon*: the piece of mony was called by the name of *δραχμή*, because it was given *τοῖς θάψις*: which signifies the dead, from *θαύς* dry, because of their dry bones. I remember the *Scholias*t upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite:

Eur. Hipp. v.
1437:

— *Ἐγὼ δ' Ἀνταίνε λίθον*) saies that there was a stone which the Poet saith to be *ἐν ᾧ*, in the place of the dead, call'd by the name of *Avanus* *Ἐγὼ γὰρ αὖτε τοῖς νεκροῖς ἔδωκα*, because the bodies of the dead must needs be as dry as dust.

Together with the money they threw in a morsel of pudding

ding or past, or Cheese, to give to *Cerberus* to stop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was usually made of flower temper'd with honey (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly *μελιπύτη*, and *μελιπύτη* *ἐδίδωτο τοῖς νεκροῖς* *ἁΐς* & *Κέρβερον*, saies *Suidas*, such a kind of thing. *Æneas* is said to have given him, when he visited the dead.

Æt. 6.
Met. l. 6.

* *Aristophan.*

Molle saporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit.

Apuleius speaks of more pieces than one, *essas polenta mulso concretas*. & saies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in * *Lysistrata* us'd it but in the singular number,

— — *σπῆν ἀνίσεις*

Μελιπύτας ἰγώ κ' ἡμαξω.

It may be the same Poet alluded to this custome in those words of his in *Pace*.

ἢ ἀλφίτ' ὅτε πρὶν ὡς ἀπλάκωθ'.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceased were free of the City, the *κατακλύται* (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowels, and with heated water, which they put into a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpose, washed the body: as those * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her in the upper room. This *ἄλφειά* *σανύσα* (as *Electra* call'd it in the poet) was a thing accounted so necessary, that *Socrates* as it is in *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it best to set about it himself beforehand, and save the Women a labour: *Ὡς τεγνίσαι πρὶς τὸ λῦτρον, δεκτὶ δ' ἡδὲ βέλπου ἔδ' ἀποκλύμεν πρὶν τὸ εἰσέλαιον, κ' μὴ πράγματα τ' γυναιξὶ παρέχον* *καὶ πρὶν λῦτρον*. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſis*, when she intended to die for her Husband. Saies the Poet

* *Arist. 9 v.*
57.
Eurip. v. 157.
Electra.
* In *Phædon.*

Poet ^b Επι ρδ ηδιδ' ηαεαν φουλα
 Ηεσαν υδασι ποταμίοις λευκόν ροδα
 Ελεσαν.

b. Eurip. Alc. v.
 116.

When she perceiv'd the day appointed near,
 She wash'd her self in river water clear.

In allusion to this custome * *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a
 washing one of the pillars of the ruined house, when she fan-
 cied to see. * *apud Eurip.*

Τ δρανόν αυτον ως δανυόμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a son, and concluding the death
 of that son by the washing of the Pillar. To this washing,
 (it may be) alludes that exprefion of *Strepfiades* to his son
 in *Aristophanis nubibus*.

Ως φε τεδνεωτ' & ισταλόμεν τ' ειν.

He casteth aspersions upon my life, & washeth me as if I were
 dead. This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in case
 of necessity others might serve. And therefore in *Galen* you
 shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poor *Theagenes*,
 because he had neither wife, nor child, nor chick of his own
 to do it. Having washed the body, they anointed it with oint-
 ments, & poured *Ambrosia* upon his head and face, as *Homer*
 saies, *Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*,

c de Method.
 Medendi. l. 13.
 c. 15.

Il. 11.

Χεϊτον τ' αμβροσι.

Having done this, they wrapt the body in a fine garment, *Homer. Odyss. 11.*
 woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other
 friend for the purpose: having also τ'α' τ'ετα, bands or lists of
 cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withall, such as * *Lazarus* * *John c. 11.*
 had *Feralibus amiculis obstrictus*, saies * *Apuleius*. The colour
 of the Shroud (if my memory fail not) was white among the
 Grecians, but black with the Latines. v. 44. *Metam. l. 10.*

G A P. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur, de lecto, & de collocacione.

HAVING thus cloth'd him with his Winding-sheet, and his τέπλα: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς στεφάνους, ὡς τὸν βίον ἀμνησιμύοις, saies Suidas, as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out: and with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, Enstathius, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him say, πῶς στεφανώσω τοῖς δάκρυον, how shall I crown thee with my tears? an example of this practise, you may see in Euripides: where *Thyestes* speaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. *Ism.*

Eur. *Troad.* v

1143.

Artem. l. 1. c.

14.

In Hel.

— πάλαι σὺν ὡς ἀετὶ ληστεύειν
Σπασοῖς δ' ὅστις δύναμις, ἀέχου τὰ σῶ.
After they had done this, they set him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate: as being never to put his foot in the house again. Then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὸ λίκτεον) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave *ἐνταφίον*, as it is likewise termed *κοιμητήριον*, and so the dead are called *ἐνθοντες*, and *κατακοιμημένοι*, for death is a long sleep, as sleep is a short death. The couch was also adorned with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs and Flowers, (as * *Euripides* saies) ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φέρει βλαστήματα, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they placed it, or set it forth at the doors, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was, — ἀνὰ πύλους προσηύειτο.
This placing of him they called *προτίθημι*, collocare, Laying forth (as we call it) as it is in *Alceste*.

— ὃς ἀποθήκευται νεκρῶν.

During the *ἀποθήκη*, and all the time till the *ἐκφορὰ* (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur*, *ἐξομίζετο*, * *Enrip.*
as S *Luke* saith, (whether out of the house or the City) there stood at the door, a great earthen vessel filled with water, which they fetcht from another house, for the people to wash in, that came in and out. This vessel is called by *Hesychius* * *C. 7. v. 11.*
πίσσα, by *Pollux* *ἀρδαυόν*, and by *Aristophanes* *ὄσερον* in that
* place where he speaks of the *ἀλκυονί* too, that is the Pots * in *Ecclef.*
for oyntments, wherewith they anointed the body, as likewise of strewing of *Origanum* (they say it is for good hearts *origanum theri*) and of Vine-branches, for what use I know not, unlesse it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of anointing, or else to make the Torches of them: for of such stuffe Torches were commonly made: as *Eustathius* saies
ὁ παῖς was ὁ *ἐκκαθαριστὴς τοῦ σώματος*. And so our Poet in *Lysistrato* calls it *τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος*: pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the lesser pots of oyntment, and the Vine branches together.

Τὸ ὄσερον καὶ τὰ ἀρδαυόν τὰ ὄσερα

Καὶ καμύρα· καὶ δὲ συκαλόντα τέφρα

Καὶ τοὶ νῆσσοι καὶ τὰ ἀλκυονί

Τὰ δὲ κατὰ δὲ τὸ ὄσερον καὶ τὰ ὄσερα.

Thus I remember in *Enripides* his Tragedy of *Alceſtis* (verse 99.) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they said she was, because he could not see any spring-water *πηγὴν χερσίδα* (as he calls it, for such it should be) standing at the door as the custome was.

The washing it self was called *ἀλκυονί*, like the *Israelites* *ἁπὸ τῆς οἴκου νεκρῶν*, which we read of in *Ecclesiasticus* cap. 34. v. 25. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans used *Suffitionem*, a perfuming of the house: for they thought the whole house polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And so did the Greeks too, as may appear by those words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

K. 346

a Eurip. Hel. v.
1446.

ἡ Καθαρὰ δὴ μὲν δόματ' ἐστὶ καθαρά
Ψυχὴν δ' οὐκ ἔχει Μενέλαος—

Our house is clean, for Menelaus here
Lost not his life—

G A P. XXIII.

De ritu effrendi & portandi corporis.

THe best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day,
and not in the night. And this I gather'd by those words
in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune teller, threatening
Talthybius, told him his fortune to be buried in the night,
(clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who
make it an honour, for the better sort,) saies she

b Id in Troad. v.
446.
1411.

ἢ Καὶ οὐκ ἔτι τὰ φέρον νυκτός, ἐκ ἐν ἡμέρα.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sunrising
(ὡς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ποσὶ δόματα καὶ πῶς.)

De Luctu.

saies *Homer* in the funeral of *Hector*) at break of day, up
the Corps is mounted, and carried along most bravely
ὡς ἄρ' εἰς τομπὴν χαλασμένῃ (saies * *Lucan*) in pomp, as if
it were intended for a *shew*. Now it was carried (saies the
Scholiast upon *Homer* ἐκ τῆς ὀρεγμένης τριβῆς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνδρῶν, not
in any Litter or Coach, &c but upon mens shouldeers up aloof
ἀνδρῶν, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcistis*, where he
speaks also of ἀνδρῶν τοιοῦτοι Servants, (I should have thought the
bearers had been some of the kinred rather) that thus car-
ried the Corps.

πρὸς τοιοῦτοι

φέρουσιν ἀνδρῶν τοιοῦτοι πρὸς τὸν πῆλιν, καὶ πνεύσιν.

a Eurip. Alc. v.
607.

In the like sense he uses the word *πορῶν* in another Trage-
dy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trudg'd* away to be
buried by his mother *Thetis*, when *Ulysses* had slain him.

Τὴν καὶ καβαλῶν δ' οὐκ, ὡς βασιλεῖς

Τὸν νεκρὸν αὖτις ἐν χερσίν

Φερόμενοι πύμνῃ—

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Spears and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funeral of *Pallas*.

— *Hæstam alii, galeamque ferunt* —

And it is likely they held those Spears at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as they did then

— *& versis Arcades armis.*

As the Corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal Gods, to whom he went, or to bemoan his departure, for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phœa* concerning his Wife.

^a Τυμὸς ἢ πύμνῃ παρὰ τῶν, οἳ ἐνομιζέσθω,

Περσέϊ πύμνῃ ἔξισταν ὑπὸ πύλῳ δέδον.

^a *Eurip. Alc.*
608.

Those that accompanied the Corpse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick ^b person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk stately before the Corps, and the ^c Women (but not unlesse they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a *πίπλον* about her; whatsoever that was.

^b *Diog. Laert.*
L. l. 10.

^c *Demost. ad*
Macari.

CAP. XXIV.

De Ministerio Funerarium & Siticinum.

See Jerem. c.
9 v. 17.

* II. Ω.

Enrip. Alc. v.
430.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had מִקְנוֹנוּת and the Romans *Præficias*: so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, χοῖραι, or θρήνοι, θρήνοι, as * Homer calls them; or πρὸς θρήνους, as *Nonnum*. And since vocal Musick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any instrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

Ὀὐλῶν δὲ μὴ κατ' ἄνδρ., μὴ λυγρῶ καὶ πῦθ
Εἴπω—

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*: *Mortuos quosque ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum instituta sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus animæ ad originem dulcedinis musica, id est, ad cælum redire creditur*. Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing πρὸς λύραν, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*; for *Pæan's*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given by the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phænissa*, ἀνύγει δὲ μῦθον.) But for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might sing πρὸς οὐλῶν: for else why were there τρυβῆδες Pipers among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them ὁσμον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands or to put upon the corpse; such as *Admetus* in *Enripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

ὁσμον δὲ τὸν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ δ' ἐδύπλω.

I have some cause to think that some of those *κεῖμαι* which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceased (for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the Funeral. And if so, then those *νεῖταιον ἀγάλματα* * (near the place above quoted) * *ib. v. 612.* said to be carried by those which followed the corps, may be translated *images*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the gods of the dead, and not the dead themselves.

But yet after all this, you may do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceased: for such as had more age had more honour than others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceſtis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger sort, he replied, by no means; for

Καὶν γένω, ὅλην τὰ πλουσίως ταφῆται.

If old she die, she will be richly buried.

And here, because I have such an occasion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more than I thought to have done, concerning the customs used in mourning at Funerals, or any other time, and first, of the cutting of the hair.

C A P. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Lucern.

THE Grecians, upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and *baldness* (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their hair *ἐν γένω* (as they call'd it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gathered by those words of *Lyſius* * *L. 3. c. 10.* (cited by *Aristotle* in his * *Rhetoricks*) which he had in his speech for the *Corinthians*, that died in the fight with the

Persians at Salamis, saies he, ἀξὺν ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ πλεον τῷ ἔσθ' ἐς Σαδ
λαμῖνι πλοδοποιῶντων κλέγεσθαι τὴν Ελλάδα. It had been no less than
desert, if all Greece had been shaved at the burial of those gallant
souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis. If this suffice not, you
may take the testimony of Euripides, who would have the
whole Country of the Cyclopians to do the like.

— ἱερχοτο ὃ Κυκλαδοῖσι

Σιδυρον ἐπὶ κράτα τιθῆναι κέσιμον.

And he himself when he dyed (as Solinus reports) was mour-
ned for after this manner, by no worse man than Archelans
the King of the Macedons. In reference to this custome,
Sirabo speaks of a Town in Cappadocia called Comona, from
the mourning hair, cut in that place by Orestes and Iphigenia.
So you shall meet with the like practice of Tellus in the behalf
of Phaeton: and of Bacchus the God (as intonsus as he was)
for the loss of his wife. Nay you shall find Job himself at
this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And
in the Prophecy of a Jeremy you may read Cut off thy hair, and
cast it away, and take up a lamentation. Tis true, they were to
be blamed for these follies, and in ^b Cicero you shall meet

a 6.7. v 19.

^b Tusc. 2. l. 3. with a saying of Bion himself, deriding the use of this cu-
stome in Agamemnon: Perinde stultissimum Regem in luctu ca-
pillū sibi evellere, quasi calvisio maior levaretur, as if he aggra-
vated the former loss of his friends, with another of his hair.
What if it be objected to all this, (which we confess to be
true too) that it was a custome to cut the hair in token of
joy? For first among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you
shall find Joseph cutting his hair, when he came out of prison;
and Jonathans Son, when he met with David, for joy doing
the like. Nay that action of Job it self, is by Origen (the Al-
legorical Interpreter) thought to have been an expression not
of sorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience un-
der his affliction. 2ly. Among the Romans, you know their
squallid prisoners let their hair hang down long, that they
might look the more dejected, and so move the judges to
pitty

pitty when they came to be tried.

a *Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos.*

Whereas after their absolution or releasement, they presently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epistles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some eminent danger. And last of all for your Greeks themselves, that they let their hair grow long in times of sadness, may appear by that of *Lycophron*.

Κεαρὸς δ' ἀκέρῳ τῷτα καλλυνοῖ φέβη

Μνήμην παλαιῶν τιμῶν δ' ὀδυμάτων.

And that they cut it in times of joy, will be out of question, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who saies that ἡ δὲ αἰεὶ εἰπὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ χαρῆναι καὶ τὸ χαρῆναι, the word for rejoicing comes from the word which they use for cutting the hair. To reconcile these things

perhaps it may suffice to say, That cutting their hair shorter by way of a κῆρ, or a trimming (as we call it) as a token of joy; but shaving it close, even to baldness, of sorrow and dejection, as among the Jews, weeping, and mourning, and baldness were joyned together. I know there are some, that think to reconcile all, by saying as *Plutarch* saies (in *Romaisis*) παρ' Ἑλλήνων ὅταν δυσυχία γένηται, καὶ ὅταν αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσιν οἱ ἀνδρες, that the women expressed their sorrow by cutting their hair, and the men by letting it grow. Which may be likely enough, because in sorrow, people out of a dejected carelessness, love to appear as unhandsome as may be, and contrary to the usual fashion: now it was accounted a handsome thing, (and so it was the custome too) among the Greeks, for women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it short. But how is it then that in *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair?

Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter.

a *Ovid. in Epist.*

Isai. c. 22. v. 12;

b *In Heaut.*
act. 2. §. 1. 3.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Luctu in funere.

When any disaster befell such as were neer of kin unto them, ἡ συμφορά, &c. it being a time for sadness, they forbore to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men glad) and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls ἀγριὸν κνωῖον, a *Barly mash*, (Ale, its like) But sorrow must be more than negative: and therefore, First, they used to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and sometimes to fling their Vails in the fire, (not in heathens, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

καὶ συμπύρῳσι μείαν πίπλον χαλιδῶν.

Eurip.

*Ovid. Met. l. 8.
fab. 9.*

2 To throw their faces in the dust, or the dust in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusq; seniles
Fædat humi fusos—*

Or sometimes ashes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

*Eurip. Supp. v.
826.*

—ἀμφὶ γαστέρι

Sm. Trach. c.

Κάεσσι χυμίδαι—

3 Κόωπιδα (which is used for πωδῖον) to beat their breast and their thighs, and cut and tear their flesh like a Jew: as one saies

Is. Hel.

* ἀμύσσουσιν χεῖρα καλὸν:

Making streaks and *furrows* with their nailes in their face (as *Euripides* uses the word αὐλακίζεν.

b in Avib.

—ὄνυξιν ἡλεκίσμαθ'.

4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἦ, ἦ, ἦ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*) comes the word ἡλεσθῆναι to be used

used for a song of lamentation viz. *ὦ πότμος ἄλγος*.

But at a Funeral, so immoderate were they (especially the Women) in these and the like expressions of sorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpose to restrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris ergo habento, let* *Cicero de Legib*
no Women, &c. Their customs they used at such times were these. First, when they came forth of the house (and not onely at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practise, *a* *Emp. Alc.*
 where he shews how. It could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* *100.*
 was indeed buried, as they said she was, because neither the pot of Holy water, nor so much as a lock of hair could be seen at the door, as they were wont to be.

Καὶ πρὶν ἢ περὶ τοῦ σφαιροῦ τοῦ αἵματος
— οὐ, ὅτι δὴ περὶ τὸν πᾶν τὸν πᾶν.

2. As they went along with the corps, they kept their head close covered, and their faces, as other people do. And there- *See Esther. c. 6:*
 fore *Orestes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, saies he *v. 12, and*
Jer. c. 14. v. 3.

— ἀναγλυφὴν δὲ προσέειπεν ἡ γυνὴ

Εὐ δακρυῶν τ' ἀπὸ τοῦ

Be uncover'd, &c.

In the like manner *Thesſeu* (as it is in another *Tragedy* of the same Poet) when *Adrastus* came to petition his help *αὐτῆς*
χλαυδίου, all bemused and covered in the habit of a Mour- *b In Suppl. v.*
 ner, said to him *110.*

Ὀ γὰρ ἐκκαλυψαμένη τὰ καὶ πᾶσι γούον.

They used likewise to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So *cHelen* saies of the Trojans *cId. Hel. v. 376.*

Εὐ γὰρ καὶ χεῖρας ἔθηκεν.

3 Their manner of going, was to tread as softly as they could with their feet, and make no noise with their tongues (I mean the rest of the company, and not those which they got for, the purpose to weep)

Σίγῃ, Σίγῃ λεπτῇ ἰχθὺς ἀρβύλης

Τιδὲ πρὶν μὴ κτυπῆται, μὴ δ' ἔσω κτύπος.

Saies

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any disaster befell such as were neer of kin unto them, ἡ θλίψις, &c. it being a time for sadness, they forbore to drink any Wine, which hath a property to make men glad and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls ἀγρίον πικρῶνα, a *Barly mash*, (Ale, its like) But sorrow must be more than negative: and therefore, First, they used to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and sometimes to fling their Vails in the fire, (not in healths, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

καὶ συμπρῶσθαι μύεαν πολλὰν χλαῖνῳ.

Eurip.
826.

2 To throw their faces in the dust, or the dust in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, valensq; seniles
Fædat huius fasos—*

*Ovid. Met. l. 8.
fab. 9.*

Or sometimes ashes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

—ἀμφὶ ἡ ποδῶν

Κάεα χύμασαι—

Sm. r. 24. c.

3 Κάεσθαι (which is used for πρῆσθαι) to beat their breast and their thighs, and cut and tear their flesh like a Jew: as one saies*

* ἀμύαυσαι χεῖρα καὶ ὀνύχα

Is. Hel.

Making streaks and furrows with their nails in their face (as *Enripides* uses the word ἀμύαίζειν.

—ὄνυχον ἡλκίσμαθ'.

b in Avil.

4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἦ, ἦ, ἦ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*) comes the word ἡλίσσῃ to be used

used for a song of lamentation viz. *ὡς τὸ πένθος*.

But at a Funeral, so immoderate were they (especially the Women) in these and the like expressions of sorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpose to restrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris ergo habento, let Cicero de Legib* no Women, &c. Their customs they used at such times were these. First, when they came forth of the house (and not onely at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practise, *a Eurip. Alc. v.* where he shews how. It could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* ^{100.} was indeed buried, as they said she was, because neither the pot of Holy water, nor so much as a lock of hair could be seen at the door, as they were wont to be.

Καὶ τὰ τ' ἔπεσεν ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ αἵματος
ὡς δὲ δὴν ῥαυόντων πένθει πένθει.

2. As they went along with the corps, they kept their head close covered, and their faces, as other people do. And there- See *Esther. c. 6.* fore *Oristes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, saies he v. 12. and *Jor. c. 14. v. 3.*

— ἀναγλυσθ' ὅς τις ὀνυχὸν ἔχει

Εὐδαιμόνων τ' ἀπὸ λυγρῶν

Be uncover'd, &c.

In the like manner *Thesſeus* (as it is in another *Tragedy* of the same Poet) when *Adrastus* came to petition his help *ἐπὶ τῆς* ^{b In Suppl. v.} *χλαμύδος*, all bemused and covered in the habit of a Mourner, said to him ^{110.}

Διγ' οὐκ ἀνύτοι καὶ τὰ ἔπεσεν ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ αἵματος.

They used likewise to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So *cHelen* saies of the Trojans *clid. Hel. v. 376.*

Επὶ δὲ κεφαλῇ χλαμύδα ἔκειτο.

3 Their manner of going, was to tread as softly as they could with their feet, and make no noise with their tongues (I mean the rest of the company, and not those which they got for, the purpose to weep)

Σίγα, Σίγα καὶ τὸν ἦχον ἀφ' ὧν ἄνθρωπος

Τῷ ἦτι, μὴ κατὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν, μὴ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ.

Saies

a l. i. c. 21. v. 27
b c. 38. v. 15.

Saies the *Chorus*, In the book of *a Kings*, tis said that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth *והלך* and went softly, and so *b* *Isaiah* saies, *I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul וידד* though I know some Translations render it otherwise.

4. When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest, they would cut off all the best locks of their hair (*πλόκαμον* or *βόσρυχον*) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called *συνδιδόναι κεφαίην* and *παρακύνειν τὴν χεῖρα* (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or *συνάειν βόσρυχον* (as in *Æschylus*) or *κατατμήναι χλιδῶν* (as in *Sophocles*) or *ἀπαρξάειν τὴν κεφαλὴν* (as it is every where.) All their best locks, I said, for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles* was very angry with *Helen* for dealing *παύρως* deceitfully, and hiding the best of her hair to save it at the burial of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed *ἴδει τοὺς καὶ ἀλώμενα θρηνητοῦ πάντα τὰ πλόκαμον τιμῶν*, they should cut it all, saith the Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reason or two for the action, viz. First to make them seem squalid, carelesse, and contemptible; whereas locks *ἀσβεπταὶ καὶ καλλοπιμῶν ἑμπαρέχει*, are used for ornament, and spruce-ness, as being *πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν* (as I may say) the *Luxury* of the hair, Then, tis known that the Greeks were *καρηκομῶντες*, and used to wear their hair long *ἑμὸν εἰς ἑλλάς*, ἀλλὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ σοβέειν, saies the Scholiast, both to please their friends and to fright their enemies. Nay they took such a pride in having it so, (calling themselves *Ακαρῶναι*, and such as cut it too short *κερητῆς* (that *κουᾶν*, signifying to wear hair long, has been used to signifie to be d proud.

c l. c.

d l. v.

Ἰνα δὲ τότε πίνθῃς ἰλίας ἀντὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ, to get the good will of the deceased party, and the *Manes* Some again say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother, by way of thanks for their education, and so they call'd it *θρηνητικὴν πινῶν*, ἀνταποδόναι τὰς ἀνατροφάς. But why then should *e Hercules* do it to *Sostratus*, he who was but his *Ganimede*. Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the

e *Pausan.*

the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the space of eleven daies) the Women were not to wear any * Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at first were but one thing. viz. * Wood for heat and light too.) *λύχνης* *vid. Snid. in*
ἀντίκτ. ἐκ τῆς δὲ Σίμης, saith an old Glosse, and to this custome *ἐπὶ τὸς ἐκ*
 some do refer that in the Satyrist.

Pullati procures, &c.

- tunc odimus ignem.

Hesych. in
Δαλός.
Juren. Sat. 3.

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *Palastra*, and *gymnasia*, must be shut up, together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themselves. But it is time to return to the Corps, and see it buried as soon as I can, for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.)

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco sepultura.

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called *Ἡεῖαι*, so called because they led to the *ἡεῖα*, the Graves, or the Common place of burial. This gate is sometimes called *ἱερὰ πύλα*, *a sacra porta*, whether in opposition to the *πύλαι ἀπορώδεις* (in *Plutarch*) or the *χαίρες & πύλαι* (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phrase, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefactors, I am yet to seek: for Malefactors were to suffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It seems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike unclean, and so took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

a Theoph.
τ. Ἀντιδ.
1. Pollux.

The place of burial in ancient times for a King, or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to shew that he might not be a *Mountain* * for ever) according to that in *Isaiah 41. 15.*
Lycophron.

Kings and princes are so called in Scrip. as
&c.

K k

Τελευτός

Τεταρτὸς δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν Κερατὰ ῥέπου.

Or that of Virgil.

3. Ed. 11.

--fuit ingens Montes sub alto

Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere bustum.

Lib. de Orig.
Gent. Rom.

* *Aurelius* saies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was sepul-
tus circa radices *Montis*, cui ex suo nomen dedit, unless you will
say that those *Montes* were nothing but that in a larger size,
which *tumuli* were in the diminutive: and so the hills must be
made by the burier, as * *Lucan* saies

L. 8.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quiescant.

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it
went no higher than a Pit or a Cave, according to that of
Theognis

— ἐν δὲ καὶ θύαρε γαίης

Βοὴς πορεύετο καὶ ἐν αἵματι δάμνη.

'Tis true, that in after times there were two common
Church-yards (as I may say) appointed for the purpose,
called by the name of *ἡ Κεραμεικὴ*, *Potters fields*, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος
ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν, one within the Walls, and the other without.
Aristophanes in his *Rana*, calls them τὰς ταφάς, the *Burials* or
the *Buries*. That burial place within (otherwise called *Δημι-
σθεν θύα* by *Thucydides*) was for those that made an honou-
rable end in the Field for the good of the *Commonwealth*: the
manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place.
The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into several fields, and
enclosures. And therefore we shall read that sometimes
close to the Gates, sometimes by the way sides, according to
that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*.

3. Thef. v. 880.

--τεταρτὸς

Θετάρτην καλεῖσθαι λαοφόρος πρὸς ἐκτετατὴν,

CAP.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

Now for the usage of the bodies: when they came to the place of burial, saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*, τὸ παλαιὸν τὰ σώματα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῆντος, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀδύνατον εἶναι γίνεσθαι, the custome was at first to burn them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam. 10. Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi se igni intraveris petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, saies that Scholiast, because by this means the body might presently consume all away to nothing. But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well liked by other people, insomuch that the *Magi* among the *Persians*, thought it ἀνόμιον na thing most prophane (I feare me more for the *Fire* than any thing else.) and therefore at length it came to be lesse used, so as sometimes they would burn them, and sometimes onely cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that τὸ μῆδος a Grave, should come from τὸ πῦρ, τὸ πῦρ καίεναι, to burn, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the *Greeks*, burial by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two: as may appear by their unwillingnesse to have it common; for they denied the use of it, 1. First to Infants. 2. To such as kill'd themselves. 3. To such as were killed with Lightning or *Fulguribus*, struck with the Planet (as we say) who were to be buried there where they died, or at least in some peculiar place apart, as we do those that Hang themselves, or the like. And thus *Capanus*, whom the *Athenians* stoned to death, as he was scaling the walls (a thing invented by him as some report) because they imagined him to have been shot to death by *Jupiter*, must needs be buried *χωρὶς τοῦ κοινού*, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides*

Diog. Laert. l. 10

Ἡ γὰρ ἐστὶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δάφου δέχου.

And lastly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to bestow any Burial at all. Infomuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnesia*, the Athenians in time of a pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to *Athens*, could by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to do it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Countrey, and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funeral, as the fashion was (as I may say) in his picture, having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of *Troy*, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himsele, adding withall.

— ὅς τις πύρι

Γράταιν πύρι: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ δαίμοντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Εὐσεβίου γὰρ ὁ
 πρὸς τὸν μὴ δάφου, ὅτι δὲ πύρι δαίμοντα ἐστὶν. Hence
 came the Law, &c. But I must tell you after all this, that how-
 ever burning & burying are so neer in their sounds they have
 been far enough distant in their being; at least in some
 Countries. For at *Rome* it was not used in *Macrobiius* his
 time. Among the *Greeks* indeed it may be rather thought to
 have been discontinued onely upon dislike, than not to have
 been begun when it was not used. For one of them I know
 not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure
 and holy) to be polluted by the dead bodie, which it was to
 purifie, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed
 aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Εὐαγγέριον, βοήθησον,
 καὶ φέρ' ἢ δούλῳ δάφου τὸ πῦρ, O, pray carry the fire back again
 where you had it, The first that ever gave example in this kind,
 is reported to be *Hercules*; Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send
 his son *Argius* to help him in the war with *Laomedon* for
 the

the horses, engaged himself by an oath, to see him home safe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, *οὐκ ἔστιν αὖτις*, putting a fallacy upon him, as if he had his son indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he used him better than *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus* did *Menelaus*, who, having promised him fifty ships with men, sent him one true ship, and paped him along with ships and men made of clay for the rest. The story is likely enough, but he that told me said he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reason or two of the use of the custome, either because *οὐκ ἔστιν αὖτις*, every dead thing is impure, and so it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, because it was commonly used to such a purpose, as being *κατακαύεται*, able to make that pure and chaste, which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abasements and alloys: whence *Euripides* saies of *Clytemnestra's* body *πυρὶ καὶ σφύρισι*. Or else to shew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joyned in society with the gods above, *τὸ δὲ θεῖον τὸ ἀνθρώπου ἀναστροφὴν ὡς ἐν ἐν ὁμίᾳ τοῖς θεοῖς* (how neer this goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) *σεμνὴν τὴν ἡρώεα*. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles* wings: as I shall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is said *ἀνακαίνεσθαι*, to be made again by the fire, and so to become *καλὴ ἀθάνατος*, as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophisters of *India* (*πυρὸς αὐτοῖς*) used to burn themselves into that immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he put them to ask what they would.

* X. Hom.
ll. A.

Ib. X.
* Cic. Tus.
L. 5.

CAP. XXIX.

*De ritu Cremandi, five comburendi corporis.
De oculis & reliquiis.*

THe manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood, and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Hector*.

11. α.

Εν ὃ πύρι σπάρη κατὰ δέναν, ἐνέσθλον αὐτόν.

Herc. Fur. v.

241.

a In Trach.

b L. 15.

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oak, as in * *Enripides*, where you shall read of καρὰς σπιδος, *Oaken billets*, at the funeral of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in a *Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Atbenans*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the burial of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

— ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis,

Et collecta Rogum sacrent fragmenta carinae.

Manili. l. 4.

Thus to burn the bodies they called it πυρὴν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it self πύρον.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bone-fire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burn the better. Not to put the carcass (surely) but themselves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that τὴν τέφραν (καὶ τὰς ὀστέων ἐρείσματα, * they swept up the ashes together in a heap. The bones they took and washed them in water brought

11. β.

brought in *χούραι*, pots for the purpose, by the *ἐχούρειαι*, *Etym. Mag.*
(women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and
such other things as they used in the *χούρι*) and having anoin-
ted them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrapped
them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they cal-
led *βήκω* or *πύλον*, or *σενή*.

* II.

Ὡς ἢ ὅστις τῶν, ὁ μὲν σενὴς ἀμεινῶ λυπητός.

The vessel, whatsoever it was, is in *Lychophon*, called *κρωαδὶς*
as if it were a Pot: and in *Moschus* *ῥεῦκος κρωαδὶς*, as if it were *Idyl. 4.*
wont to be gilded and in * *Plutarch* *κίστη σενὴς*, as if it were *In Numa.*
wont to be stone, me thinks it may be called a coffin, for
I read it was usually made of Wood, viz. of Cedar, which
is longest a rotting, and is therefore called *νεκρῶν ζων*, the life
of the dead. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have such
Coffins, or onely for those that had *Sepulchra*, and Vaults of
purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. But
that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the
word *κίστη*, used sometimes for the chest it self does seem to
declare in those words of *Admetus* desiring to lye with his
Wife in the *Grave-bed* too.

Εν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐν Κρήφω καί σενῃ

Enrip. Alc. 2.
365.

Σενὴς ἢ θάνατος πλάσσει—

A wish not unreasonable, seeing the thing desired was so usual
both among the Greeks and the Romans too. *St. Austins* own
Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit

Ovid. Met. l. 4.
fab 2.

Componi tumulo non invidetis eodem.

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in
the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times four, saies
Pausanias. The bones which they kept, because they were that
which the fire left, were called *κεῖλανα* or *Reliques*. And they
were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Enripides* in *Orestes*,
μὴ τὰς οἱ χρεῖς &c. least they should be exposed to the rage
of too deadly enemies. If the party were burnt in a forraign
Country, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the
Coffin

264 *Archæologia Attica. Lib. 5. Cap. 30.*

coffin, and pompously shewed and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid*.

Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in urnâ,

Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

Vetus Gloss.

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feasts, *ἑὸν δ' ὑμῶν ἔορται αἱ γυνεῖσαι ἐν τῷ ὁδοῖς καὶ πρὸς περὶ τῶν τοῖς νεκροῖς.* After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance,

Virgil.

— *Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* (But of this already.) Now the place where the Coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as proved^a unthrifits, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of *ἄνδρες τοιοῦτοι*.

* *Diog. La.*
* *ἡσυχαστ.*

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THe customes used in a cold burial where these; (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the plaies.) The peculiar place of burial was usually chosen before they died, & markt with a black stone. And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, *περὶ ὁδὸν γὰρ Ἀχιλλεῖος τοῖον*, &c. saies *Ulysses* in *Hecuba Euripidis*, agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place *μνῆρας ἔξογκυν τοῖον* & the Latine word *Tumulus* a heap or a grave. But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, and a little handsomer, with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Thesens* told *Hercules*, the Athenians should honour his Corps — *λαμπρὸν ἔξογκώμασι*. Whether earth or stones, it seems they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

Τύμβον

^a Τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ ξέρῃ, ^b ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρῃ — ^c The po-
Alceſtis, and in *Helena* — ^d The po-
 ſture which the body uſually had in the grave, was with the
 face towards the Eaſt ſaies *Diogenes Laert.* in *Democrito*; to-
 wards the Weſt, ſaies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the ſtone
 which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition
 of the party deceaſed, which they deſcribed commonly in
 verſe. *Plato* was for juſt four Heroick verſes and no more.
 Such Epitaphs they called *γρῶνιματὰ*, becauſe they made
 known the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memo-*
rias, becauſe they made them remembered. And therefore the
Lacedemonian Souldiers, (ſaies *Juſtin*) uſed to tie a *ticker* or a
note, about their wrifts, to certifie of what condition they
 were; that in caſe they ſhould dye in the fields, they might
 have a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Ha-
 ving thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to ſacri-
 fice, & pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sis tibi terra levis*.
 Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* uſed for *Alceſtis*.

^a Ibid. v. 836.
^b Ibid. v. 992.

— κέρῃ σοι

χθρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρῃ, γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a
 wicked fellow, or a Coward, ſo they thought it too little
 to be denyed to another: and this made *Menelaus* to fear ſo
 little to dye, for ſaies he

^c V. 462.
^d *Κακός*.

εἰ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ ποροῖ,

^e *Eurip. Hec.*
 837.

εὖ ψυχὴν ἀνδρὸς πολέμιον θάψοντο ἐπὶ
 Κέρη ἀσπίδα χροῖον ἐν τῷ μὲν χθρὸν
 Κακὸς δ' ἂν ἔρ' ἔρμα σπέρων ἐν βάλλῃσι γῆς.

C A P. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THe maner of Sacrificing to the Infernal Gods, or the
 Gods of the dead (for *infernum* or *ᾍδης* or *ᾍδς*, is a place
 LI for

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar († ἱράειν) (perchance to get the nearer to them) according to that practice in *Ovid*.

Met. l. 7.

Odys. 11.

* *Æt. 6.*

Hand procul igitur (crobibus tellure duabus

Sacra facit.

The Victim then slain, was either a barren Cow, as * *Homer* sayes

—πῆγαν βὺν, ἥπερ δέισιν: And *Virgil*,

—Sterilemque tibi Proserpina vaccam.

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slain at the grave of *Agamemnon*.

* *Enrip. Electr.*

v. 513.

aⁿ *In Oedip. v.*

556.

* Πυγὰς δ' ἑσπέρῃσι δὲρμα δ' ἄγχιον πέτρῃ

Σ' ἀμύνει σπείδον—

And such as *Seneca* speaks of * *Nigro bidentes vellere, &c.* The reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either be-

cause it suited best with mourning; or because it was to the black gods of the dark: For as *Arnobius* sayes, *Diis levis sedes habitantibus inferas color furvus est gratior.* Afterwards it

rose to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon*. Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a splayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ram nor Bull, nor Boar, &c.

ταὐτὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ ζῷα, ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὸν δῖον, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐνέχεα, sayes the Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered down both their haire, and the Bristle haire of the Beast,

which grew upon his fore-head, *Ἀπαρχαί*, viz. ὡς ψέχοντες τὸ θυσιῶν ἀποσπένοντες, that they might not give the dead, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in

another thing. Those *setæ*, or bristle haires, are in a peculiar manner termed *ἀπαρχαί*, and the offering thereof, *ἀπαρχή*, as in these words.

—ἀπαρχῶν τε κεφαλῆς τεύχεα καὶ ποτὶ βῆλλον

Ἀρριδοντὸν ὕμν

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setas

Ignibus imposuit—

Il. 5.

Hom. Il. 4.

Yea

Yea not only the beast which they *slaw*; but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publique funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practice of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all at the funeral of *Masistius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephestion* dealt with the Horses & the Mules, and the walls themselves of the town of *Ecbatana* περιέχει (as *Ælian* has it) *shaving* them *εἰς γῆν* close to the ground. And, I remember, in *Æuripides*, *Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wifes funeral in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses maines to be all cut. a In *Alceſt.* v. 439.

—ὃ μὲν οὖν πύργος

Πάλλας αἰδούσῃ τέρμεν' αὐχένων σβέλλω.

Then besides the victime they had τὰς χοάς *Libationes*, which was usually μελίκερτος, honey, and milk, and wine, to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render it right.

—ἔμπύργος θύοισι. In *Æuripides*, the manner of using their liquors, was first to go round about the grave, and powre out some, as they went, out of the bottle (as he c *sayes* λύσας αἰσκήν) and then to stand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* sayes καλῶνς δὲ ἀκροῖ, &c. As they offered they used certain speeches to the party deceased, such as that was b *Hell.* v. 554.
c *Id.* in *Elect.* v. 530.

Ελέη σ' ἀδελφὴν δὲ δὲ δουρεῖται χαλῶ.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore those χαλῶ, were usually termed ἡδουτήριοι, and θιαυτήριοι, and κλητήριοι χαλῶ: and they made choice of the most proper liquors, to sweeten and supple them. Such a prayer is that in *Æuripides* to the ghost of *Achilles*, Ω παῖ Πηλεΐδῃ, πατὴρ δ' αὖτις, δέξαι Χοάς μου, τὰς κλητήριους νεκρῶν ἀγῶγας, &c.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kinred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leagues at *Troy*, and their friends at home, sayes she, *Their Parents be.*

ing us bereft of their children in the Siege.

— ἔστι τις παῖς

Ἐδ' ὅστις δυνάτ' αἶμα γὰρ δαρήσιντω ,

-- no body have

To let a victime blood upon their grave.

C A P. XXXII.

De Corcanandis tumulis , & de Phyllobolia.

BESIDES all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the hearse and the corps: And this action they called στεφανίζω ἢ πύβει and the Garlands themselves ἔρωτες and that more properly than any of the former, as being not only ἰσωνισμέναι, made of a *Col-lation* or a *Collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be thrown ἐπὶ ἢ ἔξω, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower αἶθος, (saith ^a *Athenaus*) and then the Garlands were called πῖδοι too. And it may be sometimes of Σάπυς or *Apium* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that herb in funerals (whence the the proverb of one that is desperately sick *ἔσθω σάπυα*, that he needs *Apium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the herb, when a man has won the best at fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (in *Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies ^b *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet condition of the dead, and their freedom from care and trouble, ἀνοχλήτου ἀμαρμυρίας ὁ στέφανος σύμβολον. But I rather think

^a L. 14. & 5.

^b *Pedag.* l. 11. c. 8.

think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it *ἐπὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἀνταποδοῦναι τῇ νίκῃ τῷ θάφῳ*, to honour the dead as they use to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the same reason, doubtlesse, was it that they did *φύλλοι καὶ κλάδους* (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* sayes, they did to *Polyxena* when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant Corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old Fellow in a *Euripides* with Myrtle. a *Elect.* v. 510.

— τῷ βασιλῇ δ' ἀφ' ἑσθλῶν κλάδων.

Whether was there any allusion therein to the golden bough or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. An. 6. It seems that in *Italy* they had the same customes. For saies *b Varro*, *ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they carried leaves to cast upon the dead. b L. 6. de L. L. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Ocellinus*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris doneratis*, &c. nay *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, saies my Author, they came to wool at last when they had more to spare.

G A P. XXXIII.

De Columnis. de Oratione. & Ludis funeribus.
& *de Aquilis.*

Either upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law, To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Isocrates* with the Image a *Syren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife; when he would get the

Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοφὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸν δῆμον τὸ σὺν
Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἀλκυονίδῃ ἐπιτάφιος.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramics*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of burial, but every year after: as *Cicero* sayes, in *Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prelio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.*

Lib. de Orat.

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponnesian* war; & some, *Solon*. But besides funeral speeches, they had funeral *playes* too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιτάφιος both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of τῶρος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of sopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burials, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, viz. That even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the * Poët for her.

* Eurip. Tro.
ad. v. 1247.

Δεκτὴ γὰρ τῆς θανάτου διαφίλον ἔσθην,
Εἰ πλούσιον τις τὰ ἔσθην ἐπισηματῶν
Κερδὴ γὰρ ἔσθην ἐν τῷ ζῶντων τῷ δὲ.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poor they have their funeral,
Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Soule they take no care, unless it were a King or a Prince

Prince, whose soules they imagined ἰχθυόεντα to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they were * wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So *Arcimid. l. 2. c.* at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly ^{30.} an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀνὴρ ἄν Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach.

C A P. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funesta, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they sell a purging and *Lustrating* the house with brimstone; and themselves, by going through the fire, or some other lustration; for there were several sorts thereof, and if I have leisure, I may chance to speak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, 'tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the *ἄλυσ* in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἱερὰ μὲν λῦ πύρεσθαι ἐγὰρ ἱεροῖς
καθάρσει οἴκων.

* *Eurip. Herc.*
F. v. 693.

After this they kept a feast, τὸ παρεσθῆναι *Silicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, wore Garlands. as *Cicero* sayes, *quas inibant parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparel was white: & *quis* * *Odys. 17.*
unquam cœnavit atratus, sayes * *Cicero*. But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son * So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alcestis*, ἐν μελαῖσιν ὀπίσθῃ σελῶν, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* χρυσαῖον in a sky coloured gown. Perchance they wore black no longer than till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed again; not only nine dayes after, when they called it ἑννὰ, and thirty dayes after, when they called it ἡριακοτῆδης (when they

* *In vatinius.*
Il. 24.
* *Alc. v. 417.*

they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their souls to the fields) but also upon the day of his death ever after, calling it *rexúna*, and upon the day of his birth calling it *revúna*. The common name for all the feasts, or the common festivall for all the infernall rites, and for all persons, was *Neústa*, usually kept in the Month of *Antheferion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum, when the kindred especially (*les parens*) did sacrifice both to the earth and the gods under it, and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these funeral rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐδ' ὁσίον ἐχθρᾷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἱστῆαι

**Neisquam—*

Nor so much as come neer the grave, as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis sanctitas*, (saies *Tully*) that no stranger might be suffered to do it, for fear he might be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, than what was already made.

Il. p. Psal. 49.
14.

Hermog.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the Month of death, (for so ** Homer* calls the grave) to be gnawn like a sheep, by the never satisfied teeth of hungry *ἄνθρωποι*. For *τὸν ποταμὸν* he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the belly of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and inclosed in the stomach of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried *τὸν ποταμὸν*. For so the *Vultures* are called ** τὰ τοιαῦτα ζῷα*, living graves: nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even their mouths are open sepulchers, as well as the bellies have been of others. As that of

of *Tereus* when he eat his Son.

—*Seque vocat bustum miserabile nati.*

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as *Lactantius* saies) *Saturn* was thought to have been said to have eaten his Sons, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt, these great eaters, Death and the Grave are all mouth, & no ears, like the belly. There's no stopping nor filling their mouth. *As in ἑὸν ἐσθλόν, saies Æschylus, Pluto has no Altars, He is inexorable, and therefore called ἄνους & ὄδ in Euripides.* Neither (saies a * Scholiast) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*. I know not where. Let us see therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. * *Os Hom. II.*

His Wife, if she seemed to be with child, was taken into the care & protection of the *Archon*, least she might be cunningly perswaded to marry with whom she should not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the punishment was arbitrary. The children were committed *ἐπιτροπῇ* to a *Tutor*. He that was *ἐπιτροπάρχης*, to be overseer or Guardian, was either not to be of kin at all; or else so far off, that if the child should happen to die in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will, or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way soever it were, he was *μυστὴρ κλέος* (saies *Æschines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty year old: and then either they themselves, or any else that would, might sue out *ἡλικίᾳ ἐπιτροπῇ* a Writ *Malè administrata Tutela*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this must be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.



LIB. VI.

SECTION I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus sacris, De Asylis & Aris.

Having taken this care to see the Marriage of himself, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I say somewhat in commendation of his conditions, & concerning his manner of Life, either towards the Gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customs used in *Supplications* to, & in Swearing by the gods, and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equals, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies

Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, you have divided into three severall Sections, the first of Supplication, called by them *ἱκετικὴ*.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave, or the like) whether he addrest himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be lookt upon as sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from Dodona's Vocal Forrest to the Athenians, related by Pausanias.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀπείων τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν δούδων
Εὐμενίδων, ἐν ᾧ Ἰσχυρομένην ἱκετικῶν.
Δοκίμῳ ἱκετικῶν, καὶ μὴ σὺ κτείνῃς σὺ ἥρως,
Μὴ δ' ἱκετικῶν ἱκετικῶν, ἱκετικῶν ἱκετικῶν τῶν ἱκετικῶν.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Ἀπύοι, none might touch him upon pain of exilement. And therefore is it that Polydorus in Euripides makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

—Βῆναι δ' ἐν ἱερῶν πύλαις ἄσπετον, The Altars are not far off. So in another Tragedy, when Helena kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, Menelaus wondring thereat, ^a what (saies he) dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode? And no wonder they thus fled to Altars, or that others feared to meddle with, or to slay any body neer them: viz. Because they thought the blood would be upon them that should do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the Chorus in Ion tells Creüsa, the law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death. True (saies he) but I must be killed by the same Law. No matter (replies the Chorus) sit fast, and if any one kill thee there,

^a Eurip. Hel.
v. 805.

^b Περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δούδων,
Thy blood shall be upon him.

b Ib. v. 1138;

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing Malefactors thus protected from the Law, and consequently encouraged to the transgression, were bold to complain of the injustice of it, as you have Ion in the Tragedy, thus

οὐδ' αὖτε γὰρ, θύμῳ τῷ νόμῳ αἰετὶ ἐχθρῶς
Εὐκταρὸς εἶδ' ἔδ' ἐν γράμῳ σέβῃ,

M m 2

Tic

Τὰς μὲν δ' ἄλλους βωμοὺς ἢ Ἰζού ἢ Ἰχθῦ

Ἀν' ἑξαυτοῦ ἢ ἂν δ' ἑταίρων ὧσιν

Θεῶν ποταγὰς χθίζε.

I said before, *such or such*: because 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but onely six, viz. *Misericordia*, *Minerva*, *Eumenidum*, *Munichia*, and two of *Theseus* Temples, one within, and another without the Walls. The first of these some say was the first *Ashlum* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand children, to preserve them from their enemies. according to that of *Servius ad En. 8.* *Postquam Hercules migravit à terris, nepotes ejus timentes insidias torū quos avus afflixerat, Athenis sibi primi Ashlum, hoc est, templum misericordie collocarunt, unde nullus posset abduci.* An example imitated by other people, almost in every Country. For they thought that otherwise a least had a safer condition than a man, *ἔχει δ' ἀσφαλείην διὰ τὸ πῖπαι, δὲ οἱ βωμοὺς δύνει.* But is he now safe for ever? yes, unless they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to do *Eeles*. &c.

In *Rud. Act. 3.*

Sc. 4.

And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to do.

Ibo Hercle aliquo queritatum ignem.

Ignem magnum hic faciam—

and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* sheltering her self by the Altar of *Thetis*. Πῶς οἱ προσίασιν— on which the Scholiast thus, Εἰς τὸν τοῦ βωμοῦ κατασφύλασιν αὐτὴν προσέειπεν. &c. And yet all *Petitioners* were not so afraid of a fire. As appears by the name of *Εἰσιόν*, which they have from flying to *hearths*, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themistocles* did, when being *Ostracis'd* and banished, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Melossi* for shelter. Otherwise none that fled thither could be so wicked, but they counted him worse that should meddle with him. Insomuch that those who killed the followers of *Gylon* (though they plundered the Temple of *Minerva*) because they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themselves, and all other such *prophane* companions after them, called ἀλειψέαι; as who should say, *hindersers* & *antis* of supplica-

Supplication. Prophane, I said, for it was no better than profanation, according to the Poet, ὅση μάλιστα, the Garlands are Polluted.

Enrip. in *Herc.*

C A P. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PETITIONERS both to the gods & men, used to go with *στέφανοι*, Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands *ἄντα αἰς ἱμῶν δροῖεν τοῖς, οἱ: ἱμάτων* (saith the Scholiast on *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those green boughs are called by the several names of *σάλατοι, συλλήδεις, ἱπταῖς, ἱπθῆνοι καὶ ἱπταῖς*, and sometimes *ἱπταῖς*, for *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the room thus,

ἱπταῖς ἢ γόνασι: ἢ ἄνω στήθεσιν

τὸ σῶμα τῶν. —

In those boughs they put wool, (as we do silk in posies) and so called them *ἱπταῖς, vittas laureas.*

Δίηται μὲν ἱπταῖς στήθεσιν ἱπταῖς

Ἀρσὺν πῦμαλιν

The wool was not ty'd,

*Æschyl. in *Æum.**

and so fastned to the boughs, but onely wreathed & wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in the Tragedy of the *Theban women* petitioners (v 31.) called it *ἱπταῖς ἄντα συλλήδεις* the *Tye without a knot*. The *Italians* used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies

Janque oratores aderant ex Urbe Latina

Velati ramis olea veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* speaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes*. The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive*.

Ἐννέα λάρυς, & supplicis arbor Oliva.

First, because both those kinds are ἀειθαλῆς not subject to withering, and therefore *Enripides* gives the latter the Epithete of ἀειγενῆ. 2ly. Because the Laurel was a sign of prevailing,

c *Sta. Theb. l. 12*
d *Ion. v. 1436*

and the Olive of peace and good will, as *Lactantius* saies *per quam pax petiitur supplicando*. Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the knees of the man whom they petitioned, or of the statue of the God, just as *Lucretia* did *πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λαβομένη*. But if hopefull, the hands, *ἐξιστάμεν τὴν ἐμὴν χεῖρα διὰ τὸν*. And if confident, the chin, and the cheeks, *καὶ ὤψος καὶ ὤματα*. It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his *νῆμ.* (where the Poet desires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he praies for a Gale of successe for the *Æginitæ*) that when they desired the parties consent, they touched the head to have it annuere; when his help, his helping hand; when successe, the knee. The last I know no great reason for, but *History* enough, even from the *Natural Historian* himself. *Hominis genibus quadam religio inest observatione gentium; hac supplices attingunt, ad hac manus tendunt, hac ut aras adorant.* All his reason is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortasse quia inest iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate fossâ seu jugulo, spiritus fugiat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the *Petitioners* Gods to be lame. As good as that of *Zenobius* *οἱ οἱ κριταὶ ἐν τοῖς γόνασι ὄντες, ἀ νύ τ' εἰς χαυματῖα χεῖραται*, because Judges had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, *Κύρου κατὰ πόδων καὶ χεῖρας καὶ ὠμῶν*. It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum*. The old glosse calls it *ἐλάμνα βασίλειον, ἢ ἀποσπαστὸν βασιλείου*. I have read of a kisse of the hand, when they did their reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they used in counting the number of ten) and then giving a turn on their right hand, as it is in *Plantus*.

d In *Curculi*.

Quò me vortam, nescio. Si Deos salutas, dextro vortum, censeo.
The safest place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the Gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire

a *Dion. Halic.*

l. 4.

b *Soph. Oed. T.*

c *Eurip. in Hec.*
vact.

Xenoph. l. 1. 4.

fire, whether they presently ran, when they came to any strange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of Cicero in his oration for his house, *Nihil sanctius, nihil omni religione munius, quàm domus uniuscujusque civium. Hic ara sunt, hic foci, hic diæ penates, hic sacra religionis ceremonia continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournful a posture as might be, they need not open their mouths for pittie; neither was it the custome so to do: For those actions speak loud enough, and an eye would serve for hearing.

Τὸ δ' ἄρα, ὃ ἀναδοιῖς ἐστὶν αἰζαρτις
ἰζαρὸς. &c

This was the practice of Ulysses at the house of Alcinous, and of Themistocles at the house of Admetus; but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard, ταῦτ' αὖ μεγίστῳ ἔμμελ' ἄνακτι φέρειν ἡγούμενον ἱεσίου καὶ Μολοσσῶν, the only way in use among the people to obtain a request.

L. 4. Argon.
a Odys. 7.

Thucyd.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their desires might be crowned with successe.

b Enrip. in. Alz
crist.

b Πῖντος ὃ βουμὲς, εἰ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δέμους

Περὶ Ἀλ. 3. ε. αἰζαρτις, ὃ προσευχὰς

Περὶ δὲ ἀπορίσσεια μυστικῶν φέβων.

Their usual gesture in praying, was to hold up their arms right toward Heaven, as Helen saies

c Enrip. Helen.
v. 1200.

— ὁρθεὶς ὠλένας ὧς ἔχεν

Περὶ δ' —

But to wrest their hands as far as they could upon their wrists. According to that of Æschylus, where he saies of Prometheus, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, his stomach was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray *manibus supinis*, with bended hands like Women and children

children:

ἡλικιωτάτοις ἐπιδοσμένοι χάριν.

Now sometimes, if they obtained their request, and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred, or write it down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

CAP. III.

De generibus, & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their Gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. *ἐκκλησία*, or *χαριστήρια*, *vota*, free-will offerings, services promised and paid for a victory, or the like,

Ovid. Met. l. 9.

—Cenae sacra parabat

Vota voti.—2ly. τὰ δὲ θεοῦ μαντείας, such as were imposed, and commanded by an Oracle.

Sophoc. on Trach.

—Εὐκταία φαίει ἢ δὲ μαντείας ποιεῖ.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1. *καταχθονίως*, to the gods under ground, and that ἐν ἰσθμῷ in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpose. The Latine called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, (for whom they had also *ἑστῆς*, Temples and Plaies, and what not) together with the ^a Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2ly. τοῖς *καταχθονίως*, to the gods upon ground, much in the same manner. And 3ly. τοῖς *ἐπὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ*, to the gods above ground, ἐν βουφῇ, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* *ἑστῆς* *ἱερὸν*, and *κατασκευὴ*, as if it were a work, wallum, or agger, made up of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt *βουφῆς* and *ἰσθμῶν*, is set down by the Scholiast on

^a Schol. in Arist.
in Avib.

^b Soph. in Tomb.
^c Eurip. in
H. ract.

Euripides

Enripides thus Βαυδῖς is an Altar built up high with an ascent ^a in Phaniff. of several steps: ἰχάρις is as it were one step it selfe, after the fashion of some hearths in the figure of a quadrangle. (Just as they made their Λίανον ^b wherein they powred some oyle & wine and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the Divell) ^b Schol. in Ari. The occasion given them to make this distinction, was the ^{Stoph. Ecclef.} word Βαυδῖς ἰχάρις in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἰχάρις was there used in a large sence, for the hole, τὸ κοίλον or the concavities in the top of the Βαυδῖς for the fire. At the making of a Βαυδῖς (and so at the making of a statue to be worshipped) they had a custome ἐπιμαίνοντες ὑμῶν σεπταμῶδες for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and to offer thereof to the ^b gods.

^c Sc hol. in Ari.
^{Stoph. in Pluta}

— τὰ: ὑμῶν & θύον
Ἰρυσσίδα, λαβὺν ἐν τῇ καυλῇ ἐπέ.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and so it may be called *χῶμα* or *immulus*, as it uses to be sometimes of ashes, sometimes of earth and blood tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often ^d Κυκλοτερές round: as the Theatre, the market-places, ^{dOdyss. g.} and their Tables used to be. The places where they made their Altars, were usually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (so often objected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scholiast upon these words of ^e Sophocles, & Οἷος Ζηνὸς ὑψιστον ἔδραν ^e in Trach. &c. πᾶν ἡ θεὸς τῷ Διὶ δὲ ὀνομάζεται ἐπὶ ὑψιστον ὅτι τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὑψίῳ δαί τὰς θυσίας ποιῶμεν τὰς φερέσιν αὐτῶν, every Mountaine was called by Jupiters name, or consecrated to Jupiter, because the god being in a high place, it was fit to sacrifice to him in a high place, to be heard the better; as it was to the terrestiall gods in a low, to come nearer to them. Besides, the Altar in such a place, was the lesse in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the same Scholiast saies) ἀσβεστον ὑψίστου.

Thirdly, In respect of time, some do say that they sacrificed to the *Hero's*, ^a ἐν βραδυνῷ αὐγῇ in the evening, and to others in the morning.

a Pindar.
Isth.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either ζῶον of living creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things without life; and those either ξηρῶν dry, as corn and flower, or ῥετῶν wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony, usually called by the name of ποθ. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγνὰ θυμῶν, wherein there was no blood, or ἀσθύναι θυσίας, (as *Thucydides* calls them) where there was no smoak, or c πνεύματι θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost lik't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ἐπὶ λυθῆς θυσία, a whole burnt sacrifice, Sometimes greater than a *Suovetauralia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a πρῶτον of a Sow, a Ramme and a Goat, I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred notwithstanding—πλεονεξία ἱερατόμβας. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seems they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatening to complain of one that did so,

d Ariston Equit.

ὅκω σὶ φανὸς πῆς στυγερῆς
ἀδυσπότης ᾧ θύῃ ἱ-
ερῆς ἔχοντα κομίει.

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

^a Hesiod.
^b Ep. ad Heb. 6.
16.
Idem. in Theo-
logia.

O Pῆσθαι an Oath, (the son * of *Eris*, and yet the end * of all contention) was of two sorts, viz. ὁ μείζας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

Αὐτῶν δὲ πρῶτον θύῃ μείζαν ἱερῶν αὐγῶν.

Which

Which is the cause why some fetch the word *Ἰουσι* An oath, from *Orcus Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Sisyx*, and his sons against the *Tytans*; or when he drank of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* sayes (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworne false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Sisyx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himselfe submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he swore, as *Minutius* sayes, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus pœnam præscius perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these wayes, was properly laid to *ἱμενέω*, and to yeeld himselfe up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witnesse that which was contrary to his knowledge or his meaning. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if they swore false. As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἀγέλας, ὃ δ' ἄρα πατέρ' ἔμελλε.

By *Jove*, and the sorrows of my Father.

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*, and by my Lady *Diana*, as *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*, μὰ τὸν δῖον Ἰαννῶνα In Electio. Ἀρτιμιν, much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, among some of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to swear by the appointmet of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* *Ορεσι* with three names) viz. *Ιουσι*, *Καδῖσι*, and *Ἐξακῖσι*. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as some say it does) in the word *jussurandum*, quasi *Jovis jurandum*, it will sufficiently be proved by the plaine testimony of the Poët, that saies,

—Ζῆνα δ' ὅς ὄρεον

Θεοτῶν ταμίαν παύμεναι.

Eurip. Med.
v. 170.

But so farre were they from being contented to swear by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any other of the gods, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be deified, did

serve the turn: as when *Demosthenes* swore by τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiantly dyed in the battle of *Marathon*. Sometimes for overmuch haile or confidence, or some such reason, they left it to the party, to whom they swore, to chuse any of the gods, whomsoever he pleased to be tryed by: in this manner, ἐμνομιεῖτε τὰ ἅρ' ὧν, as we say, *Ile lay you what you will*. This forme you may find used by *Plato* in *Phædro*, and *Aristotimus* in his Epistle of *Euxitheus* to *Pytheas*. Sometimes they swore by many gods together in the plurall number, without specifying whom they meant. And sometimes by all their twelve gods, (as the *Lacedæmonians* did by their two τὰ Σιῶ, *Castor* and *Pollux*) ὅμα τῶν δῶδε θεῶν— by the whole jury of the gods. (neither honest nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher house, and *Deos consentes*, and so they put them together.) Other times again, they swore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, especially belonged: expressing his name. For so in the Market in buying and selling, or the like businesse, they commonly swore this Oath τὸ ἐμὸν ἐκ Ἀρκαδίου, by *Mercury*. But then you should have some that out of meer *deisidamony*, would say no more than μὰ τὸν ἑὸν θεόν. ἐν ἁβύσσιν ἔχει τὸ δαμονίον, with a religious *apostrophe*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it selfe, ὁ μὰ τὸ θεόν, ἢ or μὰ with τὰ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath, and μὴ for a negative.

a L. 2. Ep. 2.

b *Aristoph.* in *Equest.*

c *Aristoph.* in *Ran.*
d *Pind. Nem.*

GAP. V.

De ritibus in Jureamento Magno,

THE Customes in taking a *Great Oath*, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth were these. The Gods used to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in

in the Poet bids *Lachesis* χῆρος ἀνάλιναι. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in several places. Men when they swore a great oath, laid down their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the new Testament: whereas in a lesse, or in a private oath, made to such or such a Man, by way of a bargain or a promise, according to the Roman fashion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they swore. This Ceremony, I remember, *Menelaus* in *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* besides the word *a* *H. kn.* v. 834 of her oath.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡ τοῖς τοῖς, δὲ τὰς ἑμῶν δὲ.

Secondly. To honour the gods by whom they swore, they sacrificed the life of one of those three beasts, *b* *ῥα, αἰ, καὶ, δὲ,* *b* *Aristoph* in *Lysist.* and *πρὶν*, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goat: or all three of every sort one, or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to do of three sheep, in behalfe of the *Argivi*.

— *ελαμύ: τοῖς κείων μήλων τιμῶν*, which they called *μολοχαγῶν*. Sometimes when they killed a Boare, they cut out the stones (*ῥα* and *δὲ* are pretty neare kin) and stood upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a Boare thus used is properly called *τιμῶν*. Perhaps, they used to sacrifice Pigs chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of that beast, rather than any other in swearing to, since there was so great account made of it in other busineses, as solemne as that. For first *Jupiter* was nursed by a Sow (say some) and concealed by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore with the *Grecians* his country men, there might be no initiation without it. Secondly, *Varro* d saith *picuris immolandi initi-um sumptū à snillo*, that it was the first beast that was sacrificed, which made some think that *us* was so called, *quasi* *δὲ*, & *Sus quasi* *Thus*. Nay it was a creature so greatly sacred, (or employed to a sacred use,) that *Sacres* by it selie, is used for little pigges consecrated for a Sacrifice. The flesh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in these was not to be

^a *Arist. in Lysist.* eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish. For
^b *Eustat. in li. 7.* either they buried it in the ^b ground, or else threw it into the
 Sea: as *Talshybius* did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath
 of *Agamemnon*.

C A P. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

M^{ἡ τοῦ ὀρκῶ} or the little oath, was when they swore by
 a creature (and their gods were hardly so much) such
 as *per Cramben*, or by a Goose or a Dogge, ^{κόβα} or ^{χίνα}, as the
Socraticks did, having that practise commended to them by
 their owne Master: who (as it is in the Scholies upon *Aristo-*
phanes) in his twelfth Book ^{ἡ Κομμαῶν}, had told them that
Radamanthus the justest man that ever lived, had expressly
 forbid them to sweare by the gods; but instead thereof had al-
 lowed them the use of a Dogge or a Goose, or a Ramme, or
 such like creatures. Sometimes they swore by the ground they
 stood upon, as *Hippolytus* does, in *Euripides*.

In Avib.

d V. 1025.

^{οὐκ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοῦ}

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they
 made use of. If the matter were serious, you might hear them
 swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in
Virgil.

c L. 2.

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat.

Which was the reason (saies *Athenens*) first, why they ac-
 counted the head ^{ἡ κεφαλὴ} *holy and sacred*. 2ly, Why they did
^{κατακύνειν τὸν ὄμω} bow the knee at a Sneeze, 3ly, Why the
 old Philosophers made such a scruple to eate of the head of
 any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they used this oath but
 seldom, accounting it ^{ἀγία ὄρκον}, as *Helena* called it when
 she swore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not
 her own. ^{Ἀλλ' ἀγίαν ὄρκον σὺν κεφαλῇ κατὰ μωσιν}

The Customes used both in the Little and Great Oaths too: in abjuring and purging of crimes, were sometimes, creeping upon their hands thorough the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (μυστήρ they called it, such a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Schollar *Euripides* took the Sunne to be) supposing (as the Scholiast saies upon *Sophocles*) *τοὺ μὴ ἀνδρῶν* a Schol. Eurip. *τὴ διαπρήματι ἐν τῷ πυρὶ μὴ ἀλγεῖν*, that if they were not guilty of ^{in Hel.} the crime, they should not be sensible of the pain. Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like custome, we read to have been in use among the Saxon ancestors, and for the same purpose, under the name of *Fire Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confessor, passing blindfolded in the spaces between a great many red-hot Plow-shares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the second holding a red hot Iron in her hand, received no hurt thereby, cleared themselves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they tooke the Iron and threw it into the Sea, solemnly vowing to keep the Oath without breaking, as long as the Sea should the Iron without swimming.

b Callimach.

—μύχρη το αἶμα μύχρη ὁσάκις μὴ σφθ.

Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it swam, and the water could endure it, he swore true, but if it sunk, and the water would not suffer it to be seen, he was to be punished immediately without more ado. And this puts me in mind of the League with the Athenians, which the Poet saies, they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be sent to Delphos to *Appollo*, to be there kept for a testimony, and a memoriall.

Μνημεῖα δ' ὄραν ἀποσπένουσ' ἑλλὰς ἄλ.

to be produced when occasion should require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his eighth book *de Clitophontis*, & *Lencippes amoribus*) speaks of a custome, if a Wench were accused of Whore.

Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having writen the oath in a table, to stand in water up to the shinnes, with the table about her neck. If she were chaste, and had sworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (saies he) the very water grows angry at it, and never leaves swelling, till it goe up as high as her neck, and cover the table; lest so horrid a sight as a false oath, should look the Sun and the World in the face.

CAP. VII.

De perjuriæ religione.

a In Plut.

IF a man made a conscience of swearing aright, he was counted religious indeed; Infomuch that εὐσεβεία, was commonly used for εὐπείθεια,

Οὐδὲ τις εὐσεβὴς χάρις ἔσται, ἢ τε δικάει. in Hesiod.
and — εἰ τι χάρις εὐσεβὴς πέποις. in Aristophanes.

Whereas on the other side, when they expressed a very wicked man, they made use of the word ἐπίορκος perjurious. And therefore Aristophanes (in nubibus) speaking of Jupiters lightnings and thunderbolts, which some said, that they did more hurt to the wicked than to others, saies he, εἴ ποτε βλάττει τοὺς ἐπίορκους, if perjured men are only lyable to be struck, how comes it to passe that Cleonymus and Theodorus escape so well? or that the poor Oake tree is so often hurt ἢ δὲ σπύς ἐπιορκῶν, since it can never be perjur'd. Such as were common and customary swearers, for ill making, as well as ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀπορρητοί from Ἀπορρητός (saith Hesychius) the place where the oaths used to be administred. Now for the punishment of such vile persons, they supposed the suries every fifth day to have a visitation, and to walk the round, for that purpose: according to that of b Hesiod.

b Dieb.

Ἐν πεμπτῇ δὲ φασὶν ἑλθόντας ἀμειψιλάειν.

Οἷον τιτυνόμεναι—

and

and therefore *Agamemnon*, when he swore that he never had to do with *Briseis*, called the *Furies* to witnesse too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

—Ερινύες αἰθ' ἄνδ' γαῖαν

Ἀθρῶν τε τίνυνθ', ὅστις κ' ἐπὶ ὄρκον ὁμόσῃ.

Nay in some places, the insensible creatures seemed to be sensible of the sinne, and save the *Furies* a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in *Cicily*, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there rose sometimes flames, and sometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people used to resort from other places, for deciding of controversies by taking an oath. For if any one swore false near these fonts, he was presently stricken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Besides these, there were other means of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὀρεκθ, πάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος δέουσι εἰς πλεονεξίαν ἀδικῶν ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the most dreadful manner of any, viz. with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of brasse at his feet, on which were engraven certain *Elegiacal verses*, composed of purpose to terrify such as durst invoke that god in falsehood. All this moved the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet said of them.

Pausan. in Eliac.

Οἱ γὰρ ἔτι βωμοὶ, ἔτι πῖστις, ὅς' ὄρεκθ' ἔμνη.

Which you will say is very likely, if you remember the saying of *Lysander*, one of their own Generals, ἐξαπατῶν χεῖρας παίδας ἢ ἀσεβήλους, πολέμους ὄρκους, fallere oportet pueros astringis, hostes autem juramentis.



S E C T. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leschis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an Athenian were charitable, and so he died) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poor, and among his companions as merry as a Greek. Of the goodness of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant testimonies, whereby I shall make it appear, how tender hearted they were, not onely to men in *philanthropy*, but even to brut Beasts. For the first you may hear it from *Demosthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not so safe for such expressions) they brought going on the way, & carried every one something under his arme, to furnish him for his journey, insomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς εἴημι συνίπταμαι πτωχῶν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖσι τοῦ χάριτος ἔχεται, οὐκ ἂν τις ἄλλο χεῖρ εἴησι εὐρίπτεν. *How shall I endure to leave such a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where else?* For the last you shall have two pretty instances, as I had them from the same Author. The first is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expell'd the house for killing a Sparrow, which being pursued by another bird fled into his bosome for shelter: ὅς τις οὐκ ἀρεπῶν, φαίει

(saies he) as if he had not done righteous things. ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἁγίων, not so much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The last is of one *Praxiriles*, whom for skinning of a Ram alive, they punished much after the same manner, as the Ramme was, ἀποτυμάνισας. The goodnesse of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and discourse. For there is εὐαχρὴν τοῖς λόγοις saies *Theophrastus*, good cheer in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Aristophanes* calls it φαγὼν τὰ ῥήματα, eating of words. *Plautus*, comedere sermones. And it may be they might be made sometimes to eat their words indeed, if they parted with so much as by all mens report they did. For they were so λογοποιοὶ (as the Character *Theophr.* terms them) so employed ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους, in disseminating & spargendis rumoribus; and were so much given to spend their time in nothing else, but either to hear or tell some new thing, * that I wonder with what face, they could call St. *Paul* Σπομολόγος. Though I know some do rather chuse to fetch the word from λῆναι to gather, as the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* interprets τὸν Σπομολόγον to be τὸν αἰεὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἄρτια ὡς τὰ ἀρσενεῖ διατρίβοντος ἢ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ διατρίβοντα ἀναλερουμένου, such as watch for loose things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up. The places where they met and discoursed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porthes for the better sort: or Trades mens shops for the meaner, like the Roman *Taberna*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos*. Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in the shops and the places themselves, and the confabulations therein, they called λῆσαι, μαχεῖται λῆσαι saith *Euripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of λῆγη too. Now those shops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κερματὶ πάλια used by *Polybius*, e. i. Barbers talke, (as we say) Lye like a tooth drawer. But especially Smiths, and such as made use of a Fire, being free for any that would warme themselves

selves, and without any doores, as the Scholiast upon those words in *Hesiod. l. 2.* Concerning χαλκῶν θῶκον &c. τὰ παλῶν (saies he) τὰ χαλκῶα ἢ πάντα τὰ ἐργασίαια τὰ πρὸ ἑχονίᾳ ἀΐδου ἦν, ἢ λίθας ἐγείλν. And to this belongs that of *Homer.*

Οἷδ' ἐθέλειεῦδεν χαλκίῳ ἐξείδου ἐλθῶν

11. Θ. & Σ.

Ἡρώεις λίθον.

The discourse was for the most part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Cerris Siculis*, childish and idle, well befitting such *Geruli figuli*, as most of them were. But the Philosophers that met in the λίθον, which *Hierocles* speaks of, had better discourse. These places were consecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore said to have the name of Λιθονόρις (so saith *Snidas*; but it should be rather Λιθονόρις, saies *Menysius*) the reason was, because such meetings were, or should be in the day time: and sometimes in the *Sun.*

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a set meale amongst themselves, was anciently but once a day, at supper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiast upon *Homer* in several places) it is not easie to determine. Some say there were four meales a day, viz. 1. *Ἀρᾷτισμα* or *δανυσμα*, the *Breakfast*. 2. *Ἀριστον*, the *Dinner*. 3. *Διπνον*, the *Beaver*. 4. *Δείπνον*, the *Supper*. Just so many *Athenians* has, but in this order, viz. 1. *Ἀρᾷτισμα*. 2. *Διπνον*. 3. *Ἐπίσσισμα*, or (*Vesperna*) 4. *Δείπνον*. Others make but these three. 1. *Ἀριστον*. 2. *Διπνον*. 3. *Δείπνον*. You see that *Δείπνον* is the last meal still, and so it is in *Aristophanes*, who after *δειπνέει* supper time, makes it to be presently *Bed-time*. To any of these meales if they came too late they called it *παραδειπνέειν*, or *ἑσπερινόν*. Which they need not fear, if they had a Bell to call them, as *Plutarch* saies they had in the Fish market, and therefore terms those, whose bellies had no cares, but for the Bell, *καὶστὸν ὀξύς ἀκούων*.

Sympof. c. 4.

GAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THEIR merriment with *others* was when they kept a feast. And thus to spend their money, was especially called ἀναλίσκειν, and δαπανᾶν: the merriment it selfe, by the name of ἡβη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministring to the Gods at a feast; and from whence, ἡβη came to be used for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feast was of three^b kinds, 1. Εἰσὶν, 2. Γάμος, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. ^a *Schol. in Arist. Soph. Vesp.* ^b *Eustathius in Hom.* ^c *Aristoph. & Schol.* Εἰσὶν, otherwise called συμβολὴ ἐπὶ κεινῇ συμβολῆς ἔργον καταβολῆς ἔργον, *δαπάνης πολλῶν πρῶτον*, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolum*, his *part*, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawn*, or his *earnest* with the master of the feast. The earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *dati annuli, locus, tempus constitutum*: And sometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the money for the feast, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell or do what he would with it. The reason why it was not so costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὡς ἀνίστηται, *οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλῇ ἐξέτασσι*, was because every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called αὐτῶν δαμνῆτες ^c *Xen. ibid.* *Sodales*: Sometimes they call such a feasting καταβολή, from ^c *Festus.* *joyning* as we say, or *clubbing*, or *casting* every one his *lot* into one purse, ἐλευθερὸν καταβέβαια, ὅταν κοινῶς δίσκοντες δαπανῶν συμπιπτεῖν, *saies Tzetzes* upon *Hesiod* And so likewise sometimes ἐπὶ πολλῇ ἐξέτασσι, *from αὐτῶν δαμνῆτες*, because the charges came scattered, or sown by several hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly ἡ θίασος (they say) has been used for the same, θιασώτης for the *Athen.* l. 8. company.

Of this way of Feasting you have a brieft and large commendation in *Hesiod*.

Μηδὲ πολυεῖνος δαυτοῖς διατίμειν ἴθι.

Εκ κοινῆς πέντη ἢ ἑξῆς, δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there
The charge the least is, and the most the cheer.

Sometimes you should have a covetous fellow make his γάμον his very wedding dinner, in the manner of an ἐσθῆ: and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be εὐκέρως (as Plutarch calls the Souldier that goes a warfare at his own cost.) This kind of feasting (I think) may very well be named τὰς δαυτίας, for* that is either when there is meat of all sorts, or when it is brought to every man, or when they sit highly pigly, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰσάτην (for of γάμῳ we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελής. It was thus called either 1. From ἀάπτου the lapping and tipling in it, or 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in companies, ὅτι καὶ εἰλες, ὃ ἐμὲ ἐλκεύει, or ἐπύου, or 3. From εἰλες, the verigines or rounds used in dances* εὐρυγυες εἰλες. The company at such a feast were called εἰλαπνεῖται. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίτῃς, unlesse it were to accompany some of their very near friends: according to that of Cornelius Nepos, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neq; in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquiorū, neq; sedet nisi in interiore parte adium, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus.* The usual customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers appointed for the purpose to discommon them. And to them the Cooks were to repair, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an οὐνοβώτης too, to see how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἀσωτῶς or intemperate, he was to be pnnish'd by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifits of those times to call the Greeks *μυροποταγίζες* and

in Crass.

*Sextol. in. Ari.
Joseph. Pace.

*Plin. Nat.

and *εὐλαχεῖσθαι*, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figges, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to passe that *Cookery* was so much in request among them; (*σμεῖν δ' ἡ μαγειρικὴ*, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chief officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the last indeed, was very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the later followed the former, or instead of invitations, they sent their friends a peice of the victime.

—ὅ τὸ δ' οὖτος

ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσωνι καλὸν κρέας αὐτίκα πέμψον.

—as soon as you

To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morsen* too.

C A P. III.

De more salutandi, Symposiarchâ, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.

WHEN the guests were come, the manner of salutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kisse them, and such a kisse as this they called *χίτρα* a *pot*. The fashion of kissing the lips wa- but of latter daies, and *osculum* may be *osculum* upon any thing so it be from the *mouth*. Anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher than the hand, with an imbracing of the body, as *Xuthus* desired to do to *Ion*,

Err. Ion. v. 578.

ὅς τις χεῖρσιν ἐκίνησεν ἐν τῇ, πῶς αὖτ' αὐτὸς πύχας.

Embracing was the most usuall salutation. Insomuch that (if you will believe the Scholy the word *ἀσπάζεσθαι* used to *Plut.* signifie to *Salute*, does properly signifie to *embrace*, as being derived

On Aristoph.

derived (saies he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ εἰς ἐμπόδον ἔδραον. The com-
pellation to such as they respected was usually τίμιε *vir honeste*,
Eurip. in suppl. *worthy Sir*, rather than κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*.

—οἱ εὐτυχίσαντες, τίμιε θεῶν

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in obser-
ving and commending the conveniences of the house, and the
household stuffe, and the like, according to his instructions in
Aristophanes.

Επιτ' ἐπώνε σὼν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων

a Vesp.

Οεσθὸν διασκευάσει

The *ὑποκλήτωρ*, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the
Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast; (for
συμπόσιάρχος the Master, was many times no more than a
bPolux. l. 2. c. i Master-steward, or συμπεσις ἐπιμελητής the Caterer chosen by
a company at a Collocation) presently had his χαρματίδιον
brought him in by the Cook, i.e. a *note* containing the several
sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some
feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman
Modiperator, and the fashion yet in use in *Italy*, and among
us on *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be Βασιλεύς
King: and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole com-
mand of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without a-
ny restraint. Which sometimes prov'd too tyrannical; as it did
in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow σίβειν ἢ κα-
ταχεῖν ἢ καταλῆναι to take the drink in his month, or have it flung
in his face.

G. 8.

All this while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of
Frankincense and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the
sense of smelling too, might have a *tast* of the mirth, (εὐωδίας
ἐστὶν for *smell feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the an-
gry noses of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing
themselves, they used to offer a tast of the best of every dish.
But how they did it I know not, unless they threw it in the
fire as *Patroclus* did.

c Athenæus.

EN

—ὁ δ' ἐπὶ πυρὶ ἑλκὺς θυμῶν.

The

The Guests before they sate down, used to crown their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle, and so I remember the bold guest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink, — *σέθεν δ' ἡ κραταια μαρσινοῖς κλάδ' οἷς*, bound his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to secure it from aking, and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto.

The use of these Garlands was to coole the head, and so to retrain the heat of the Wine. Neither did they crown their heads onely, but anoint them too, as if he had been going to wrestle with the strength of the liquor: for so saies he in *Vespis*

— *γυμνασικῶς*

Ἵγερ' ἡτάων σπαιτόν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems

— *habent unctæ mollia fersa comæ.*

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether, or to open the pores, and let them out as soon as they came. For the same end was it, that the herb *crambe* was so much used in their feasts, as it was also among the *Egyptians*; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow near it; which antipathy (say they) has been in it ever since * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenesse, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggess, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe*, so called *quasi* *κορμύβην*, from *Κόρμυ*, or *Pupilla* the *Aples*, or the *Babies* (as we say) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfull.

Besides anointing, there was washing too, both before and after meat; that before, had a peculiar name of *ὀύδωρ* *καὶ* *χερσῶν*, the other they call *ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*.

P p

Their

καταψύχοντες τὸ κεφάλιον, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Avis*.

* *χω*. On *Aristoph.* in *Equit.* Act. 1, sc. 3.

a Poll. l. 6. c. 2. Their *pisture* at eating was lying upon *καλινυ* beds (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a *κλινιδιον* a mat close by, which had bed clothes, and all to sleep upon. Those *κλινιδια* were usually covered with skinn: according to that in the b Poet of one that lay sporting upon a full belly.

b Aristoph. in Eq.

Πέγχει μεδύον ἐς τὴν ἐνὶ σπασί ὑπτι.

And sometimes with Tapisstry, for the better sort: for with such *Achilles* his Embassadours are entertained in c *Homer*,

c Ill. 10.

— τὰ παρὰ τὸ σπορευεῖσθαι.

The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbows: and therefore *Silennus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cylops* (when they sate at meat upon the ground) *Θεὸς δὲ τὸν ἀγχιῶνα εὐρύδμως*, to place his elbow handsomely. They rewed their feet upon a *σπιννυς*, or a foot-stool: such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Somnus* for the same use.

Τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἀνθρώπων τὸ δασιδαισμον.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespa*, asking how he should sit, was bid *ῥίναί' ἐκταίνειν*, to stretch out his knees. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*. Unless the man were of a higher stomach than he that said, *Sit mihi mensa tripes*: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three legs, and an *ἐπίθνημα* upon it, called *θυσιαστήριον* (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deal of religion: so as not to have any uncivil or prophane or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it. For why (saies *Symposium*) it is holy and consecrated to *Jupiter* *οἶκος*, and *ἕως*. Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* *πρὸς τὸν ἄλκιμον*; *οὐ τρέφεται*; *οὐ ἀποδίδαι*; And to *Juvenal's* *reverentia mensæ*. The first that ever dared to profane the table, were the Women that killed *Terentius* his son, and served him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

d Pl. Sym. c.

Sat. 2.

Pauf. in Phoc.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people; were contented with Masts and Acornes: for their bread at least, if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανίσται, people employed of purpose to gather them. There was no *Cereale solum*, in those dayes, no fear of *mensas consumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of later dayes, to make *paniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food * A. Gellius saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of Oaken boughs, *quoniam cibum vilisq; antiquissimus quernus capisolutus sit*. In remembrance of their oaken diet. After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barley. For that kind of corn was the ^a first in use. Afterward, when fine Whear, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as ^b Suetonius saies, *decimatus hordeus pavis*. Their way of using corne at first, before that Mills came up (*αι μίλοι*, said to be invented by *Μύλα*,) was to roast it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinser* to beat it, and knead it into hard lumps or loaves. Those that did this, the Romans called *pinsores*, which afterwards came to *pinsores*, bakers. We read of ^c parched stufte among the Israelites too, even there where we read of flower, and so it was not for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them; as likewise of their usual dishes at feasts, both of fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenæum* with little paines and lesse profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beast, the braine might by no meanes be seen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eat a bean: and thought, that none but he that had lost his senses, would offer to devour that, from

Vi. 8. 11.

L. 5. c. 6.

^a Artemidor. L.

¹ c. 71.

^b In Aug. c. 24.

Serv. ad. A. 1. 1.

² Sam. c. 17.

v. 38.

In *Trachin.*

which all the *sences* had their *life*. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *brain* might not be in their mouths to *speak* it, as well as to *eate* it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lycheas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the brain *white marrow* of his head.

Κάμινος δὲ τὸ δὲ μὲλὸν ἐκείνηται μύρον

κεράτιον

Heceba in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks relates it after the same manner, calling it ὅσῳ βελόντων ὀφίων, adding withall ἢ ἀσχετὸ μὴ λέγειν with reverence be it spoken.

But as for the Entrails, ἀλλήτρια, no dish so common as that, inso much that you should have some covetous fellows make a feast of nothing else. Such a feast they called more peculiarly ἔλαρον, or μαγειρικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was served up in dishes of wood, or of brasle (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drink*, which they had at feasts during meale time, was usually wine mingled with water to allay the strength of it. And this mixture they say was the invention of *Amphyktion* (him whom they report to have first instituted the meeting of the seven Cities called *Concilium Amphyktionicum*) but I have another story for you from * *Athenaus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Phytitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Vines from the Red-sea into Greece, the people came presently flocking to the Sea side, and fell so immoderately to the liquor, that some became dead drunk, and some raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they returned again, found some of the raine mingled with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, ποσὸν δὲ ἢ αὐτοὺς ἔχον ἐπὶ λαύσειν, notwithstanding found no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This (they say) is the person that at the first bringing in of the κακρασμίνον, or mixed

mixed wine to the table, they used to remember *Δία Σοτήρ*, Jupiter the founder of the rain, and the mixture. To which they added the health called *Διὸς Ολυμπίου*, if the feast were a victors feast; and *Δραΐδα μιν*, if it were a Wedding: altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third round to be to Jupiter Servator

—*ἤ Διὸς σωτῆρ*—

Στοιχὴν τεύτε κραιφνέ.

Presently after meale came in *ακρατον* the Wine in *puris naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) *πρωτομα*, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the first tast before they went to eating used to be. The great Crater being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the good genius (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the goodly god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but *ἀγαθὸ δαίμον*: and so to drink it *ἐπιπρῶτον ἀγαθὸ δαίμον*, make it a religious businesse, as if it were a Libation or a drink-offering, as he saies *Στοιχὴν λάβει, ἡ σπῆιν ἀγαθὸ δαίμον*. And many times they prayed too, crying out *ὦ δαίμων ἀγαθὸ*. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interprets *ἀγαθὸ δαίμονισαῖ* for *ὀλιγοποτισαῖ*, little drinkers. The last health of all, which they drank just as they went to bed was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames

—*ἀγχιεστῆτα*

Οἱ πρῶτον σπινέσκον.

for that was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑρμῆος πρῶτον σπινέσκον*. Yet some say it was *Διὸς Πλείης*. *Ἀκράς*, the bottle or vessel out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinn of a Boare. And therefore in *Lyssistrate* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of *Καίς*, and the Wine *αἶμα blond*, and the powring out *σάγμα slaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it *ἐκείνου κιάς*, or *φίλοποτῆτα* a cup of good friendship: and such kind of expressions *ἀξιώσεις*, takings, or pledgings: according to that

Aristoph in Eq.

In Vesp.

— — — — —
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And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourite, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (*ἑταίρῳ* or *ἐταίρῳ* his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himself, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himself waking till morning, had a *πυραμῖς*, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, just as the women use to have in the *Thesmophoria*. In such mad fits as these, they were wont to have *γείνους* riddles proposed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unlesse he had leave, (perhaps it was unlesse he took his leave) of the Master of the feast. And here I might easily speak enough of their *Κόπιαβοι*, but I think a little is sufficient, and that I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes, *ἐν οὖν κίεσσιν*, saies the Scholiast upon *Nicander*, *ἐδον κὶ τὸ κίεσσιν*. Infomuch that the word *κίεσσιν*, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from *κίεσσιν* these hornes. Scilicet. Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with Bulls hornes. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture all Bull, which occasioned some to call him down-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reason of those phancies was (saies the Scholiast) *ὅτι τὸ ταυρωτικὸν ἔστι πρὸς τὸν, ταῦτάς τιν' ὄντι τὸ οὖν κίεσσιν* for the strange (saies he) or rather the Bull wood carriage of those that use his Liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immittit cornua curia bovis*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too no question, to whom the wood belongs) *Ποτήρα δ' ἐν χείμαρσι κίεσσιν ἀνέβαν*.

C A P. V.

De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant.

FOR their behaviour at a table, spitting and coughing, and speaking loud, was counted uncivil in any, but a Gentleman (as we say in the University, that nothing is fresh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory *αὐτὸν κατὰ πρῶτον*, saies *Stobæus*, to spit stoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clare excreare*; as it is among us for great men to sit and eat carelessly. But *paring of nailes* was such a *forbidding* thing, that no gentility could bear it out. *Hesiod* (as tis thought) long since abominated the incivility, or what shall I call it, to hit his meaning.

Μυδ' ἐπὶ πέντε ζῶο διατ' ἐὶ δυνὶ δαλείῃ

Ἄζον δὲ κλαρῶ τέμνειν αἰδῶσι σδύρει.

Nor from the *five-branched green* do with a knife

At feasting cut the *wither'd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his *wait*, or his *Pedet*, to whom they used to deliver *τὰ ἀποροχέτα*, choice bits, or such dainties as they liked best, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I must confesse it was counted somewhat *base*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feast indeed, and *open house*: Those boyes or servants were commonly *Black moores*, after the fashion of the Romans,

—tibi pocula cæsar

Œtulus dabit, aut nigri manns ossa Mauri.

Your *waiters* portions, which we read of, were another thing, as a piece of the Victim at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choicest dishes at a feast, sent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were absent. For such *Plutarch* reports to have been sent to *Aræus* by King *Antigonus*, when he sacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Aristophanes* (in his *Acharnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding.

Ἐπεμψέ τις οὐ νόμισ' ὅ τ' αὐτὶ ἐπέα

Εἰ δ' ἄρ' αἶμα

And

1 Sam. 1. 4.

Nchem. c. 8. 10

b or ἡ παλαιά.

c *Coronæ* Col. viii.

And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembering their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as * *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and also at feasts (as those were bid to do by a *Nehemiah*) used to send מנות portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared. When they had greased their fingers, they would take a piece of soft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the dogs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens ē magdalia*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for so they called such a piece of bread from ἀπομαγεῖν to wipe; such a thing as their Cooks σῆς; or χειρῶν σῆς; a piece of *course bread*, which they had for the same use.

The desert consisted of nuts and fruit, and all sorts of junk: *iss*: they called this service by the several names of βῆσικα, ἡραγδαλία, ἐπιτορῆματα, ἐπιτραπέζια, ἐπιδορπία, ἐπιδορπία, *Epidorpie mensa*. And now to crown all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls ἀναθήματα θυτῆς; (usually accompanied with ἀκροαματα, merry songs, and tales) because they themselves spent most time in practising it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali, & Scolijs.

Odyss. 1.

Although *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, speaks against the use of Musick at a Feast: and *Euripides* says it were better used at a Funeral, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himself (in himself) commending, and *Phe-mius* (in *Homer*) practising the same. Now the custome was when they came to dancing & the Musick (whereof at Meal-time lesse cups would serve) then to have greater, and a fresh bowle (κεπήλη) to begin with, for such a one they had at every change, if they observed that fashion we read of in *Euripides*.

Eni

Ἐπὶ δ' εἰς αὐλὰς ἦσαν ἡ κεατῆρα τῷ
Καυρὸν, γύρον ἐλίσσον, ἀεὶ παρὰ ζῶν χεῖρ
Οὐνεζὶ σκεδὴ σμικρὰ, κυγαλάτι εἰσφέρων.

* In Jon. v. 1177

The song most common among them was *Harmodius*: So called, (just as *Hymeneus* is from a man of the same name, and as we call our songs *Chloris* and the like) because it was sung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicides* that put an end to the tyranny of the *Pisistratide*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the Trumpet *Leana* (as *beastly* a name as *Lupa*) so faithfully loved their bodies, that when she was racked by the Tyrant, to discover their conspiracies, she bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and spit it in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, φίλα τῷ Ἀρμόδιῳ, ὦ τοι καὶ τῷ Ἀριστεῖ, &c. You have mention of it in *Aristophanes* his *Acharnenses*, and his *Vespa*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a song to the praise of *Admetus*, (for most of their songs, as well as those of the *Romans*, tended to the praise of one famous *Worthy* or other, (It began thus, Ἀδ. μῆτε Ἀδρὸν ὃ ἐταίρι μαθὼν, καὶ ἀγαθὸς εἴλετο, καὶ δαίμων δ' ἀπὸ χυ, &c. where you may observe the opposing ἀγαθὸς το δαίμων. For so you shall find καὶ, commonly for a *Coward* in *Heathen* writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour*, and *fortitude*, the only *virtue* worthy the name. Besides these two which I have named, you shall find a great many more such in *Authors*, under the name of Σκόλια. I shall only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, against *riches*.

Ὀρθαὶς ὃ πρὸς Πλάτῃ
Μῆτ' ἐν γῇ, μῆτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ, μῆτ' ἐν ἡτέρῳ
Φανήσεται.

Ἀλλὰ πάντα τῷ γαίῃ καὶ Ἀχέροντι
Διὰ τοῦτο πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατὰ.

Vid. 2. in *Aristoph. Ran.*

Those kind of songs which they called Σκόλια, were first invented by one * *Terpander*. They were so called either first *mus.*

distorted, as they are in Mad-men (*δυσματων ὁρῶν*, & *ῥῥῆς ὁρῶν*, right eyes and a right mind, are put a together in the Poet.)

4- The song was called *Σκῶλα*, (saies the ^b Scholiast) by the Figure *Antiphrasis*, because it was least difficult of any, and *μελῶδον*, consisting but of a few staves. But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὰ *ῥῥῆς* ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὸ δυσματῶδες μεταλαμβάνει, ὡς δὲ τὰ ῥῥῆς ὁρῶν, because that figure *Antiphrasis*, is alwayes by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. *Origen* (they say) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. ^c *Pericles* is said to have made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies*. I think not for any obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

Τὸ *Σκῶλον*, is not opposed (whatever it may seem to be) to that which they call *τὸ ῥῥῆς μέλῶδον* (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolies* could not) so called, not because it was sung right along and in order: but either because the persons sung *ῥῥῆς*, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) *ἀλτὰ & ἐρετὰ* voce, with a long blast, (like the trumpet in *Judges* c. 7. 5.) or because it was sung *ῥῥῆς* ὁρῶν, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* saies *Arion* plaid after that way upon the ship, and *Enstathius* and *Suidas* say that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander*, *πρότερον ἄρῃς ἔπαιον* &c. So moved his spirits, that he leapt immediately to his armes and took them up to fight. Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soon as *Menanders*.

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they say was the use they made of them) they had their *σφαῖρες*, *oscilla*, or *officula*, like those which they use at Rome at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as *Augustus* is said to have plaid with (*talīs aut officulis ludebat cum pueris*) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes

^a *Soph. in Oed. Tyr.*
^b *in Ramis.*

^c *Ariflin Ran.*

they would yield you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast thrown those things on the table, presently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, viz. to be merry therefore while he might.

Hæu, hæu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est?

Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.

Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.

And just so the Egyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in bid every one *εὖ καὶ τέρπεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποθανόντων τούτων*, to eat and drink for to morrow he should die.

Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A Stranger, whether you take it for a *Guest* or for an *Alien*, so it were not a *God*, was alwaies had in so religious esteem at *Athens*, *ὡς ἀνέμων καὶ ὡραίων θανάτων αὐτῶν, ὡς δὲ ὑπεκρίσσειν ἢ ἔξω*, that (as the *Scholie* saith upon * *Euripides*) if any one wronged a stranger, he was look'd upon as a profane cursed fellow: according to the Poet himselfe in another * place.

* In Helen.

—Let go the strangers hands,

Which being sacred may not be in bands.

* In *Tam. v. 468* And good reason, for — *ὅπως δὲ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἀπαιτεῖ*

εἶναι — all strangers have *Jupiters* own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* no *malus*, as *Ξενοφάνης*. Now this esteeme they had. First in obedience to the Lawes of *Zeus* *εἶναι*, or *ἔξω*, you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitii ara*, an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitall people, for their brutish inhumanity, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastes*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius*, as much as he was for the strangers, was notwithstanding better known and honoured than any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, *Ξενοῦ Διὸς ἀναι*

* L. 10. Fab. 6.

ἐν ἡμέταις, as if he had cared more for them than other people.

Jupiter, hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.

Virg. *Æn.* 1.

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travels in *Phrygia* with *Mercury*, lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requital thereof he preserved the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expressly commanded them *τὸ ξένον μὴ ἀδικεῖν*, not to wrong a stranger. And this made *Aristippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay saies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusal to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations*.

Xenoph. l. 3.

Amph.

L. de Offic.

If a stranger had received any wrong (because they might not be so familiar as to do it themselves) there were *ἀγοραῖοι*, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as *πρόξενοι* to entertain them. Unlesse you will say that these last officers were not for *ξένοι* that is *hospites*, such as carried a while and away; but for *ἐξένοι*, that is *κατοικοῖ*, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came. For those were made to pay their *μισθός*, an yearly rent to the City, the men twelve, and the * Women six Drachmes, which if they did not pay they sold them, and put them into the ships for Gally slaves, as not reckoning them *clean* corne, and true Citizens, any more than * *Aristotle*; but onely (in the words of *Aristophanes*) *ἀλογαὶ καὶ ἀκτῆς*, the outcasts and chaffe, and no more. Even the *Grecians* themselves (as *evill beasts* as they were) seem to have had *humanity* enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their *ξενικαὶ τραπέζαι*, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Tr. y*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone.

* *Isæus* contr. *Elpagor.*

* *L. 3. Polit.*

Athænaeus.

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedæmonians* hear but ill for their *Ξηλασία*, and *Lycurgus* his Law against admittance of strangers, but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *pace*) brand them with the name of *Ξηωνόξιστοι*. Nay it is said how that they never made any *Λεωπρίστους*, (as they called it) free of their City, but onely two. viz. *Tisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But I still hope, their *Ξένος* strangers, were all one with *οἱ βάρβαροι* Barbarians, for whom the word is often used, saies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast upon *Homer*. For else certainly *Plato* would never have given such commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the nature of (as we usually take it) *policy*, as it is inconsistent with the name of *πολιτεία*, to care most for ones private good.

C A P. VIII.

De Hospitibus excipiendis.

IF the *Athenians* were so kind *πᾶσι ξένους*, to every stranger, properly so called, what were they (think you) *πᾶσι ἰδιοξένοις*, to their own strangers (as we use to call it) or to their sworn guests? Thole had their *ἱερὰ γαλον*, or *συμβολαι*, or *τῆσεναι* *hospitii*, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Jason* in courtesy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένους τε πάντων σύμβολ' οἱ δ' ἑσθλαὶ σ' ἐν.

So farre were the *Ξενοδόχοι*, those that entertained guests (you may call them *ξένους* too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their near relation) from so much as suspecting a returne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dio* no lesse than his life. Who though he were forewarned of an intention of *Callippus* his guest to murder him, took no care to avoid him, *αἰσχυόμενος*, being ashamed (saies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de vitioso pudore*) *κυλῆπτος φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον* to be

ware

were of one that was his friend and guest too(as if that were more.)

The manner of entertaining strangers was this. As soon as ^a Pindar. ever they saw him ^a δῆνον ἐπαίοντο ἄλλοι, the first care they had, was to have somewhat for him to eat. *Egredien.* ^b In Heant. *sem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnana*, saies ^b Terence. When he came to the doore (as some say) they both joyned feet on the threshold, and there mutually engaged themselves to be true and trusty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur Veniebant ad ostium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* And therefore *Hospes* is said to be derived from *hosiūm*, or *ostium* a door, and *pis* a foot. When he came in, they called for the Strangers bottle (as he saies in ^c *Empir.* *v. 511.* ^c *Electra*, ἀνδρὶ δὲ ὀφθαλμοῖς) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (saith *Athenam*) ὡς τὸν ξένον αὐτὸν τιμῶντες, ἵνα ἔσται ἐν αἰσῇ, as giving him honour, because he was a stranger, not because he was this or that particular man. Now they used Wine rather than any other liquor (saies the same Author) because they took it to be ἐλκυστικὸν τὸν στήνα, πνεύματιν καὶ ψυχῇ &c. Powerfull to warme the affection too as well as the stomach. Idem.
Ibid.

The next thing they presented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendship must be seasoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and sweet. All the time of his being in the house, this respect he had. They made their own Daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him water in a Bason, and wash his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by several places in *Homer* both observed and approved by *Athenaus*, who ^{* L. i.} makes it to be an ancient custome τῶν Ὀνηθ' ὅς τις κόβος ἢ τις γυναικὶς ἀνέσας τὸν ξένον, ἀρχαῖον δὲ τὴν ἔδον (saith he) 2. They allotted ξενώματα, Chambers a part from the rest, of purpose for strangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* ^{d V. 545.} in the Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his house in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted αἰσχρὸν, so unfit

312 *Archæologia Attica. Lib. 6. Cap. 8.*

unfit to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there saies) was therefore about to be gone again, replied; no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.

Χωρὲς ἑστῶτες ἐν οἴῳ, οἷς σ' ἔστ' ἔσθαι. For we have Chambers on the other side of the house, which we keep onely for strangers, and you shall be there.

3ly, When they sate at Meales, they had a table also to themselves, as may be conjectured by that which *Orestes* had at his being at Athens.

Eurip. Elect. v.
849.

—ἐν ἑνὶ μόνῳ τραπεζῇ ἄμιν

Πάρεχον οἴκῳ

Lastly they had τὰς Καρὶδας places allowed them at the *sherres*, instituted by *Sphromachus*. Therefore to return respect againe to the people of the house: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse.

Ovid. Met. l. 3.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaque oscula terre

➤ *Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosque salutat.*

d. Herc. v. 609.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine Service, τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν θεοῖς unto their gods especially, or the gods of the place: as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to do θεοῖς τοῖς κατ' οἶκον (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the house. In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when he came to the borders he kissed the ground, and so took his leave of the *Genius*: as *Ovid* saies.

Met. l. 13.

—dant oscula terre *Troadis*—

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detain him. *Menelaus* accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξένον παρόντα εἰλῆν ἐδίδοντα καὶ πύμπν.

And parting they usually gave ξενίῃ δῶρον, or τι ξένια, some thing or other for a remembrance, or to bear their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there

was

was *πρυτανείον*, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murderer or such like person, they might not by any means *πρὸς δειχθῆναι* (as he calls it) entertain him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aqua & ignis interdictum*.

C A P. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poor. And certainly if they intended no more than the Honour of their City, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; * of whom *Ilocrates* saies in his *Areopag.* τὴν πόλιν κατὰ γὰρ, that he is a disparagement to the City wherein he lives. To prevent the disgrace every *ἐταιρεία* or Society, kept a poor mans box, or a common Treasury, for the reliefe of such as came to poverty, and the ranfome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they used *ἐκδίδωμι ἑταροῖς*, *conferre erannum* (as *Plautus* saies *erannum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributors called by the name of *ἐργιστῆς* or *ἑταρῶν πληρωταί*. He that thus came to a gathering (as we call it) was said *συλλεγεῖν* or *καμίζεσθαι* ἑταροῖς, as in *Aristotle* (*Acroas. l. 2 c. 5.*) where he makes this instance of a thing *κατὰ τύχην*, that happened by chance; if a creditor, *ὅτε αὐτὸς ἀπολαβὴν τὸ ἀργύριον ἦλθεν αὐτὸν καμίζομενον* ἑταροῖς, with his Bond in his hand should come to his debtor for money, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the parish (as we say) for a collection. Such another contribution was that which they called *ἑταροῖς παμπῶτος*, appointed by *Aristides* for those that assisted him in the Warre against the *Medes*, of which *Aristides* in his *Lyssistrate*. If there hapned any controver-

* That there may be no poor among you &c. Deuter. 15. 14. So some render

וְלֹא יִהְיֶה עָנִי בְּכֵם
וְלֹא יִהְיֶה עָנִי בְּכֵם

fy in this businesse, there were *δίκαι ἱερῶν*, Lawes and Writs made for the purpose.

* L. 9. de Leg.

Plato speaks very well of this * custome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his answer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the use thereof to the *Amiseni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, si tale Collationi &c.*

Other provision there was besides this *eranos*, for their reliefe. For the richer sort were wont every new moon, to make a great feast of Bread, and other course fare for this purpose. Which feast being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occasion to them to call every course beggarly feast, by the name of *Hecates cœna*. But as bad as the fare was, the person in *Pluto* *Aristophanis*, took his argument even from thence to commend the condition of the poor, above that of the rich. Saies he — *πῶς ἢ Ἐκάτης ἔχει τὸ πτωχόν*

Εἴτε τὸ πτωχόν, εἴτε τὸ πένν βίανον &c.

Ask Hecate, and she will tell you which is best. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, money allowed them out of the Treasury, to pay for places at the *Playes* and *Shewes*.

SECT.



S E C T. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

HAVING spoken of the customes used by the *Athenians* amongst themselves, it will be fitting in the next place to say something of those which they used towards their *enemies*; and after that of those towards either, or both in Divinations.

The Warlike provision which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being listed inter *Ephebos* (which was as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time till twenty, *ἐν τοῖς πενταετίαις*, (as they called it) that is, they must be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they must *παραστῆναι τὰ ἐπὶ πόλει οὐρεῖα* stand sentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works, and the like: according to that of * *Terence*, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex pirao abierit, nam ibi custos publicè est nunc*. The first of the two years they kept within the City, but the second they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a shield, and a Spear, and a *χαλκός*.

Harpoer.

* In Eunuch.

ulpiam. ad O.
lymp.

or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight *χωρὶς εἰς*, without the Liberties. But ever after 'till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the *Επώνυμοι*, registred in this manner, *ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐπώνυμος*. Such a one in pay, ever since such a one was Archon Eponymus: to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these *Επώνυμοι*, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called *ἐπώνυμοι λεῖξαι*, from the *λεξιπράκτων χαματιῶν*, in which they listed their names after they were twenty yeares old; and sometimes *ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιών*, because they thus kept a note of every mans age: in opposition to *Επώνυμοι ἡλικιών*, who were but to keep a note of their Tribes. Now some there were that were exempted, and some that were excluded from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders *οἱ τὸ τέλϑ περιεῖμαι*, who therefore had the priviledge *τὰ πλείστα*: or the *χορηγαί*, *ἱερεῖς*, *οἱ πρὸ Διονύσου χορεύοντες*, Bacchus his Sali, or dauncing Priests. The later were *οἱ θῆται* slaves, and all such proletarianes People, who were not to be employed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour *ἐν κατὰ λόγῳ σεβαστέῳ*, which the others had, For they, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus* *ὁ καταρτίζων τὴν πόλιν*, were listed by the *Πολέμαρχος*, or General (as many as he *κατέλεξε* made choice of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus* in the *σπεῖρα*), or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having beside that another *πίναξ* or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti*, out of service, and discharged. After they had been listed by the General, they were to be listed again by the under officer the *ὀπλίτης*, or the foot by the *πείραρχος*, and the Horse-men by the *ὄπλαρχετος*. The *ὀπλίται* were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, *βαρυπύργοι ὀπλίται* and were *gravis armatura militis*, with their wide Shields and long Spears. 2ly *ψιλοὶ*
Levis,

Aristot. de Rep.
Ath.

Levis armatura milites, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrows, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3ly. Πλατυς, a middle sort between both, with their πλαται or ἀντιστοιχες, narrow shields, and short spears. Such as they made choyce of for Horsemen, were to be δυνάτωται νῆς χροῦσι καὶ σώματι (saies *X. nophon*) able both in body and purse and therefore were to be examined first by the Senate of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were σκιτίζοντες *skittish*, or Ταυδεῖς (as the Scholiast calls it) *Noyse-proofs*. And this they did τὸ κούδωνον ψῆλον, with a Bell, or a Kettle-drum, or a Pipe, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the Κούδων, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did περιπαλῶντες *Walke the round* to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called Κούδωνοφορεῖν or Κούδωνίζεσθαι.

—Κούδωνοφορεῖται, περὶ τῆς

Φύλακος καὶ δυνάμεως.

Inasmuch that Κούδωνίζεσθαι, is used for the same with Πηδάζεσθαι, to try, or prove (as in *Aristophanis Batrachis*, ὅτι μὴν, κούδωνισ) and ἀκούδωνισον for ἀκούδωνισον intentatum. (As in *Lystrate*, καὶ ἀκούδωνισον πάλαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀκούδωνισον ἔχον τὸ πρῶτον ἀκούδωνισον ἀκούδωνισον.) If a Horse had been ταχυμαδῶν worn and beaten out with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the sign of a τροχός (a wheele I think) & gave him his τροχόπαιον, (for so they called both the mark and the discharg it self:) whence came the proverb used by *Eupolis* ὅτις ἴππῳ καὶ ἐμπλακῆς τροχόπαιον, to give a man his τροχόπαιον, that is his discharge. All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and Beda upon the Kings, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israëlitis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Helias currum igneo, et equis igneis sit ad cælestes translatus (vel certè hoc ipsi inter alia depictum in pariete vidētes) crediderunt viciniâ descripti nominis Solis hic transitum per cælos esse designatum, et miraculum divinitus factum commutavit in argumentum erroris, &c.* because

Hesych.

has once was carried up to Heaven with Horses, therefore *Helios* or the Sun, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service ever after.

The horse-men, first, some were *δμάχαι*, that had two *waies* to fight with Armour for the purpose, and a boy to hold their horse while they fought a-foot (a fashion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) Some were *ἵππαρχοι*, that had two Horses, one to ride upon, and the other to lead, from *ἀγῶν*. Their manner of life was very high and stately, for many times they would *περιπατεῖν*, that is, have a *transvection*, or ride into the City in Pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, usually called by the name of a *ζυγίς*, as it is in these verses.

Ὅταν ζὺ μέγας ἂν ἀντὶ ἐλαύνουσ ἐπὶ πόλιν

ὅσας Μυακλὸς ζυγίς ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horse, or sit in the chaire. *Auriga* then were called *ἵππαι*, and were better than *παρβάται*, who lookt to the Coach onely.

The number of the Horsemen was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. Otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every *ταυταρία* (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two

Most of the Athenian Souldiers were *ἀσπίδι*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, insomuch that they reckon'd it a very disgracefull thing to be *εἰσάρι*, or *metelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, because it was so often changed, I think I had better be silent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others onely this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be *ἀβροδαῖτες*, dainty and to weare long haire, as I have sayd: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant onely of their Core-locks, which they were to cut, *ἵνα μὴ παρίχαιεν ἐκ ἡττοῦ ἀντὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν*, that the enemy might have no hold. *fast*, saies *Plutarch* in his *Thesens*, where he saies also that the fashion

fashion being first used by *Theseus* was therefore called
Θυσίη.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vim propulsabant.

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemnians*,
of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall ^{a In Laced.}
whereof it was made, at the first was *Brasse*, saies ^a *Pausanias*:
but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod*.

Χαλκῷ δ' ἐργάζοντο, αἶλας δ' οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the
coat of Mail. The most noted thing in the *Helmet*, was the
Crest, invented by the *Ceres*, and therefore called by *Alcæus*
Καζικὸς ἄστρον. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it
was fastned they called στήκωμα, and to fasten it στήκωτο. ^{Hom.}

Πλοχμοὶ δ' οἱ χρυσῷ ἀρσῦρον ἐστνηκῶτο.

The *Crest* was double or treble, according to the quality of the
person. For if he were an *heros* it might be treble, saies ^b *Em-*
ripides, and *quadruple*, saies ^c *Apollonius*. ^{b In Orest. c L. 3.}

Τετραπλοῦς φέρεται λόφος ἐπιλάμπετο σέλην.

The stuffe whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the
hair of a Horse taile; and thence it is that it is called *ἰππεύς*,
and *ἰπποκομὴ προβαλὺς* in ^d *Theocritus*, and that it is said ^e *ἡμι-*
χόρβου when the hair fell off. The other parts of the *Helmet* ^{d Id. 13. e Aristoph. Pace.}
bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong,
as *ὀφρύς* the *eyebrows*, & the rest, except the *Penthouse* τὸ γέστρον.
Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of several
kinds, for sometimes it was made of *Oziers* woven together, ^{An. 7.}
according to that of *Virgil*.

—*flexuntq; Salignas*

Umbonum crates—

(but then they ^{Hesych.}
called it *ἰνίς*) and sometimes of wood: but most common-
ly of raw Oxe-hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or
laid

laid one upon the other. Ovid saies *Ajax* had *Septemplex clypeum*, a Buckler that had seven pieces or foldings in it, and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

— & as *proxima rursus*

Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

^a*Troad*, v. 1336

And therefore in ^a *Euripides* it is called χαλκόνυτ & ἀσπίς. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the several parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux*, L. 1. c. 10. Onely thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deal of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having ἐγχεῖς ornaments to be seen, and ἐγχεῖματα little holes to see others by, set in the ἵμνις, or the border. And 2ly, for the invention of them, the handle by which they held it, called ἡδύωρ, or τέρπις, or ὄχαιος, was invented by the *Ceres*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it ἀειρογῆς ὄχαιος: and so were likewise the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Crest into the Grave along with him. The *Armes*, (πάρμας, or ἐπίστυλα) were different, according to the quality of the bearer. *Ulysses* had his ἀλφειόσημον; *Idomeneus* Grandchild to *Sol* a

Strabo l. 14.

^a*Aristoph.* in *Ran*

Roost-cock the ἀνὰς κούρεντ to the *Sunne*. But the *Heroes* anciently, and for the most part, used to bear Eagles, ἀσπίδων ἐπίστυλαι χρυσῆς τῆ τοῦ χαλκῆλῶτες. To the Arms, they added *verses* in commendation of the prowess of the Person by which he deserved those Arms, and the names of the maker; such as *Pausanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The case or *Theca* wherein the Shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like cases, according to that in *Andromache*.

In Eliads.

Ent. v. 617.

Κάλλισα τὸ δῶρον καλοῦσι σάγματι

L. 21. c. 14.

Rhodiginus saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some things which they observed to be *ominous*: for if it happened

pend to strike their knee, they counted it lucky: but if they struck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill signe. The most famous Shield that ever I read of in beathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Aegiochus*, named *Αἰγίοχος*, because he covered it with the skin of his nurse the goat called *Amalthæa*, this shield he bestowed upon *M-nerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *astonishing* head of *Medusa*. Whether that *Scutum sacrum* which *Alexander* is said to have stolne, and to have caried alwaies before him, were the same with this or no, I know not. Their shields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the fashion was also for the other sorts of armes) they suffered not to have their *πρόσωπα handles*, (or some such necessary appurtenances) that so in case there should be any insurrection, they might be the lesse ready for use; which was the cause why he in the Poet cryed out so as he did, when he saw it otherwise.

Οἱ μοι πάλαι ἔχουσι τὸ πρόσωπα.

For saies another a little before.

Οὐδ' ἔχειν, εἴπερ οἰαίης τ' δῆμον ἐκ περὶ οἴας

ταύτας ἔαν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πρόσωπαις ἀνατιθῆναι.

The *Coats of Mail* were of three sorts: the first *ζῶμα*, which reached from the navell to the knees: the second *ἡμισθώραον*, which covered halfe the brest, such as *Polyanus* reports to have been much used by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great: The third *θώραξ*, which reached from the shoulders to the navel, so called *ὅτι οὐ θέτον ὠρεῖν*, from preserving the heart, and the brest: from which peculiar office of it, *Aristophanes* in *Acharnensibus*, borrows the word *θωρήξας*, for to signifie to be well nigh drunk, (as we say when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed aginst the cold) and *ἀκεθώρας*, to signifie *ἀκεμεθώρως*, drunk to the top. Now a *Thorax* was either *εἰς τὸν αἶμα* all of one piece, plain like *εἰς τὸν χιτῶνα* *recta tunica*: or else *ἀλυσίδαν*, with *chaines* or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coats of Mail.) The leather I say, because it was usually made of a hide (τὸ

Etymol.

αὐτῶ) as the *Scuta* were ,

— πρὸς δὲ δάεαυθ σκῦται .

*Aristoph. in
Pacc.*

So they say that the Latine word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum* the dried and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil* ,

*Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori operis.*

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls *δαλαμῆται*, by a Metaphor from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

*Aristoph. in
Pacc.*

The Colour most in use upon their Armes, Cloathes, or crests, &c. was cirmson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being used to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnician* colour, the *Lacedæmonians* called their Coat (or Crest, or what is it) *ποινικίδα*. In allusion to whose red bloody colour, the Poët in *Achæarnenses* speaking of having a few beaten till the blood came, thus, expresses it.

Μὴ ἐκταχάινεν ἄνδρα τῶτον ἐν ποινικίδα.

*Let's card him and worke him, and belabour him, 'till we make
his skin like a poivins:*

*Idem.
Idem.*

To carry the *Provision* in, every man had his γύλιον, or ὀσθήλιον σπαρτικόν a kind of *basket* (*fiscinam*) made of *Oziers* (πίγμα) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poët having used the word γύλιον, to signifie such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word γυμναχίαι, to signifie *men that had a neck as long as that thing*. Their ordinary provision was *Cheese*, and *Olives*, and *Onions*. Their quantity commonly so much as would serve for three dayes, according to that of the same Poët still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Επιπλήν τὰ σίτη' ἡμεῶν τεσσάρ.

Those too often repeated *Orders* for three dayes provision.

CAP.

as saith it was an iron with a sharp tail like a snake, to be set in the ground, and hollow head, to set the speare in, from σπῆρ & *Lacerta*, a *Lizard*, which it resembled. When they came home, they set it in a long wooden *case*, made of purpose by a pillar of the house.

Odys. I.

Εγὰρ ἔδ' ἰσασί φέρον πρὸς κίονα κακρὴν

Διερρύδωντες ἐν τοσούτῳ ἐνέξεν. —

saies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Ex in qua mediis ingenti adnixa columne

Æn. 12.

Ædibus assabat, validam vi corripit hastam.

The custome first πάλαιον to *vibrate* the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept, that ἰγχιόσπῆρ, a *shake-speare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and in other Poets to signifie a *Souldier*. When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not: but it seemes they had such things, and *Hesychius* in the word ἰσπῆρα, saies they made the *strings* of *Horses hair*. Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, καὶ πλαμαίνων by *belts*, or *strings* of leather, as they did the shields: and the *strings* came over the shoulders as ours do.

on Il. 7.
Hesiod.

Οἷοισι δὲ μὴν αὐτὴν μάλ' ἀνέστην ἀνδρείῳ π.

What other offensive arme they had I know not. But the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled most in the *defensive*, and that the Barbarians were better at the offensive.

C A P. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affairs, I cannot find but that they did *properè sequi qua piget inchoare*, beare a greater affection to *Peace*: as may appear in

in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave hearing in no worse place than a *Temple*; and their entertainment in the *Prætorium*. The usuall Ensigne carried by *π. ὄψα* Greek Embassadors, was *κηρύκειον*, *caduceus*, a right staffe of *πριε* wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether this was to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a seed of dissention sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) tis but *σοφὸν* my conjecture, and a bolt perhaps too soon shot to hit the marke. An Embassadors allowance, was two *δραχμαὶ* a day, which they usuall called *τὸ πορεῖον*. If the Peace could not be kept, but they must needs have warre: yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they march. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or let loose a Lamb into the borders of the Country, or into the City it selfe, whether they were marching (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the signall before a battle) thereby shewing them *ὑπερβόται* that what was then a habitation for men, should be shortly a pasture for sheep, and what was then pasture for their own sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their enemies. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods must be sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the *Tragædian* makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of *Ἀθήναι* Athens, upon the coming of *Euristheus*. Then besides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Per-

Etym.

*Homeric
Batrachom.*

Diogenian,

καὶ πάντα τέμνειν θύειν, θυσιάζειν δ' αὖ μὲντοι ὑπὸ Τρῳαίᾳ τ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ πόλεως σωτήρια, χερσὶν δ' αὖτις πάντα εἰς ἀλλήλας ἡλίσσει καὶ σέβεται καὶ καρυμνίᾳ Ἀθῆναι παλαιὰ τῇ ἡ γῇ σωτήρια.

signs

fian, they used to vow one thing or other to be devoted and consecrated to the god, in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. For as the *Lacedæmonians* thought it not good to march ἐν τῇ πανσέληνῃ, till the full of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, till the seventh day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the new of the Moone. In marching, the Generall used alwayes ἔχειν τὸ κίον δεξιῶν, to keep himselfe on the right horne, or wing. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ὀπλοπῆγες) kept themselves ἐν τοῖς μέσσοις τοῖς ἑκινδύνοισι, in those parts, or those Corpora (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called *σπαρσία* ἐν τοῖς μέσσοις, and some times *πρόδρομα*. When they came to a River, before they went over they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called δύναι τὰ διαβατήρια. No passing without a prayer,

— δεινὸν ἔστιν ἰδὼν ἐς ὕλιν πέδον.

Hesod. l. 2.

The Romans alwaies observed the like custome, when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly called the action *Perennè auspicari*.

Festus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi praelium, & de usu tubarum.

*in Eurip.
Phen.*

When they fought a Battle, after they had killed a *vi-time* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*: for *πυρφόροι ἀντὶ παντοκλήτων*, instead of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellows whom they called *πυρφόροι*, that went before with *Torches*, and throwing them downe in the midst between

between the two Armies gave the signe.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæ

Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Statius Th. 4.

Lycophron in his ἑχέσθαι ὁ πυρρὸν, and *Pindar* in ὁ μὲν πυρρὸν seem to allude to this incentive or incendiary. Now this business they might do safely, and without any danger, ἀνεγούρου ἀκίνδυνοι. For the Torch bearers were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted sacred, * ἱερεὶ τῷ θεῷ: inasmuch that it became a proverb, when any Army was totally defeated, ἡδὲ δ' ὑπερὶ θ' ἰσάμεν. Those Torches *Euripides* in *Rhesus* calls πυρρὸς λαμπτήρες, where he saies that the *Achivi* avoided them, that is, refused the fight.

* 2. in *Eurip.*
Phœn.
ἱερεὺς οὐλοῖ ὅδε
πυρρὸς ἐστὶ, εἰ δὲ
πάντες αὐτῶν
λογοῦντο.

— πυρρὸς λαμπτήρες ἱεῖς ἦντες καὶ ὧν

φάσμα Ἀχαιῶν.

Qui clatus es, audiens faces

Fugere Achivos.

(better in my mind than

Qui audiens ignis faces accensus adductus est, ut credas fugere &c.) Nay, not only when they would signifie their intentions to fight with the enemy to the enemy himself: but also when they would signifie his approach to others, to have their assistance, they made use of Torches too, which they called φάσμα. The word rendred faces, and you may render it Brands, or Beacons if you will, for they are made of dry wood, or sticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men still who did φυλάττειν keep φρυκταῖαι Watches in the * Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day, they raised a smoke: But I must tell you, there were φάσματα, Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their friends too, as well as φρυκταῖαι. But with this distinction, that φάσματα were held, or let lye still: but the φρυκταῖαι were tossed and shaken to and fro.

2. In *Homer* Il. 6.

* Καὶ φρυκταῖαι
ἐν νύκτι πυρρῶν,
φάσματα Ἀχαιοῖς
Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔειπε.

But those Torches lasted not alwayes, For afterwards they came to make use of Trumpets, according to that of *Æscylus*

Σάλαγγ' δ' αὖτ' ἅπαντ' ὅκω' ἐπιφλέγειν.

In-

In Phen.

α Επὶ δ' ἑ-
σήμεν' ὅρῳ
πυρρηνικῇ
Σάλπηγγι, ἧ
συνήσαν ἄλ-
λῆλοισι μάχῃ,
v. 830.
b C. 6.5.

In or accendis still, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the Torches once in use. The first invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been first brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an asistant to the *Heracidae*, as the same Scholiast reports in the same place, α αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρχίδας συμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἤγαγε πρῶτον πυρρηνικὴν σάλπηγγα εἰς ἑλκνας. And therefore he calls the Trumpet πυρρηνικῇ, viz. from the inventors; As the Poet himself had done before, both in his *Phenissa*, and his *Heracidae*: where he saies it was used when they joyned Battle, and that then it sounded β ὅρῳ a long blast, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have spoken before.) There was a time when shields did serve for Trumpets *conchaque sonantes*: and then you might easily contriue that riddle of *Theognis*.

Ἦσαν γὰρ κίχληαι θαλάσσης οἷον δὲ ταχέως
τε δὲ ταχέως ζῶν φεγγόμεναι σῶματι.

GAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis & premiis & Sepulturâ.

ε Επὶ ταῖς
σεύῃ σείχον θ'
ὁρῷ &c.
Soph. Trach:
γ. In Ari-
stop. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the messenger that was sent with the newes was adorned with ε Garlands. In the mean time those that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, used to sacrifice to the gods in the waies, ας αὐτοὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶεν, ἐπιεύουσαν ταύτης, αὐτὴ τὴν αὐτίον, ἐπεβέβαιε, If it were good, to bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and stop it. For close conveying of the intelligence I suppose they had severall waies. Whether they made use of the *Lacedemonians* σκυτάλη, I know not. If you please, you may read the discription thereof in *A. Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he saies, that they made them two staves or rods ἰσομήκους of a length, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carryed by the Gene-
rall

neral along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron$ a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unless it were rolled upon those staves, and the parchment and the staffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it seems by the Poet, whether he spake in jest or in earnest, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he terms it, or a humour like that of the English towards the French.

Ελακτωμαδεν παρτες ανθρωποι τατα

Σπουλιεφονεν.

If any one turned $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\lambda\omicron$, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been $\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron$, and would not, or $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron$ and could not, fight for fear, or if $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\upsilon$, or $\pi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$, he had *left his rank* or *thrown down his Armes*, he was regiltred and delivered to the *Heliastæ* to be punished as they pleased, and not to come to the Temples, till he had satisfied justice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward.

Οὐχ ὅν τιν' ἄν γὰ ζῶνθ' ἔλασιν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two $\dot{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\omicron\iota$, says *Helyschius*: (but one says *Harpocrætion*) every day out of the publick Treasury: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of five hundred, whether they were $\delta\dot{\iota}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$. now $\delta\dot{\iota}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$ were $\omicron\iota$ $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\iota$, saies *Harpocrætion*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *mine*. Such as were slain, their Children were maintained out of the publick Treasure, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had a $\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\pi\lambda\iota\alpha\upsilon$, a *Suit of Armes* bestowed upon them, $\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\upsilon\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\iota$ $\tau\omega$ $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\eta\delta\iota\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, to put them in mind of their father's exploits, and to keep them from degenerating They had the honour also $\pi\epsilon\tau\iota\delta\epsilon\alpha\iota$, of having the foremost seat at *banquets*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at *Marathon* fight) the sa-

Vide supr.
Aeschines
contra Cte-
siph
Enrip. He-
raci. v. 966.

Vid. Supr.

Plato.

shion was then to make a shield his Bier, as twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to those words of the Lacedæmonians *virago* to her Son, as she was helping on his shield,

a Arma su-
perveheris
quid, Thrafi-
bule, tua? An.
sen Epig. 24.

ἢ πῦρ, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ, either do thou bring the shield home again, or
let the shield bring a thee; nay and to make it his Coffin too
sometimes, as it scemes by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Euripi-*
des concerning *Ashtanax*.
Αλλ' ἀντὶ κλέψῃ, ἀεὶ βίβαν τε καὶ ὄν
Εν τῇ θ' ἀάλαυ παῖδα.

At the buriall, the rest of his company Marched in equi-
page thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes and throw-
ing their swords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the
fire or the grave after him. But for the most part, they were
allowed a publique buriall upon the common charge, at home
in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three dayes before
the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the burial
day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse wood, and car-
rying away each one their bones, put them in the ground
with severall pillars and inscriptions, and one solemne speech
for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed
to have their Armes in their Shields, or else placed in the *αἶψα*,
and honoured with the name of *Cecropida*, Citizens of the true
old blood: according to that

Eurip. in
Phoen.
Ibid,

Οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλας Κερωσίδας ἔδνα' ἔργα.
Sometimes such as had the first fruits (or the prime) of the
spoyle, were adorned with a golden *στέφανος*:

καὶ τὸνδε χρυσοῦ στέφανον ἀνέδρας ἔχων
λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων στυλοδωμάτων.

G A P. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOR memorials of the victory, ἀνάσταντο τροφαῖα, they erected Trophies: (you may write τροφαῖα, if you had rather follow the most (a) ancient, than that which is newest in fashion.) Trophies were usually pillars of brass, or of stone, or wood. And the wood sometimes *live* (τὰ τροπαῖα ἐν τῷ αἰ παλαιῷ ἀνέθισται, saies Dionysius) and sometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

— *Quercusque trophæa curvæ tremens* —

Those Pillars among the *Grecs* answered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latines. Only that might be overthrown, but these might neither be taken away, nor reërected again, if consumed with age or the like, ὅτι εὐπερ ἀπαλαμβάνειν ἔχουσιν ὁπότε δονέειν ἔσται, φιλαπάχθιστοι, least they should thereby rub up the old sore and revive the grudge with their enemies. And therefore sayes the same Author, ὅτι πρὸς ἐλπίσιν οἱ χαλεπὸν εἶναι τις τροφαῖαν εὐδοκίμοις Those that made them Trophies of brass, were lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of Amnesty. Now upon the Trophie, they ingraven an ὄπισθον, declaring the cause of the Warre and the manner of the Victory: such a one as Othryades wrote with the blood of the Argivi. The like inscriptions many times were written upon other things. For Pausanias having conquered Mardonius at Platea, did not only at Byzantium write it upon the Cup, which he consecrated to the gods of the place, (as Athenæus reports to his dispraise for his arrogance) but also upon a tripod besides, which he caused to be made of Gold and sent to Delphos, with this inscription

ΕΛΛΗΘΩΝ ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ στατῶν ὤλεσε Μέρδον

Παυσανίας φοίβῃ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Wherewith the Lacedæmonians being displeased blotted it

T t 2 .

cleane

(a) Οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ τροφαῖαν, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τροπαῖον εἰποῦντο. Ἡ. in Avii Soph. Plut.

Plut. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucid. l. 1.

α Ἑλλήνων
 ἐφοικαγῶντες
 Ἀθηναῖοι
 ἔκτισαν.
Enrip. in
Heracl. v.
 937.
In Odyss.

clean out and instead thereof, engraved the names onely of those Cities, by whose help they obtained the victory, And so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called α ποικίλην.

In *Cicero's* (b) time (it seems) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he sayes, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophy over the *Lacedemonians*. But instead of them, they erected sometimes altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Ammanas*) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter* πρὸς αὐτὸν (so called from causing the enemy πρὸς αὐτὸν to turne their backs: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to stand to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and ἱθαλὺς (as I told you before of ἱθαλὺς) good or valiant *Jolans* erected.

—Εὐρίπιδος Διός, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναστήσαντες ἑστῆσαν.

The *Spoyles* which they took πύλλα from the the dead, and λείψανα from the living) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀρεσθίσια, quasi ἀρεσθίσια, saies *Eustathius*, as if it were πρὸς τὸ στήθεσσι καὶ μάγῃ τοῦ σώματος: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, viz. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλίστορας ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, as ἡ ἀρεσθίσια ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς σώματος, because the things were saved from being cast on shore.) But I rather incline to the Scholiast upon *Sophocles Trachinia*, who saies those ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλίστορας, or the first fruits of the spoiles which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀρεσθίσια, because they used to lay the spoiles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλίστορας, they skim'd away the *Creame*, as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In allusion whereunto *Megara* in *Euripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her sons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus:

Εὐρίπιδος ἀρεσθίσια ζῆλον.

The

The Armes which they took, ἀρμα they hung up for the most part in their Temples (and sometimes in their own houses) as they did their own, when they left the service, as Horace sayes,

—Veianius, armis

Herculis ad postem fixis, Latet abditus agro.

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but wrote them all. For that was the custome, ταύλα πῖς το. Eur. παύσις ἡγεμῶν saies the Scholiast.

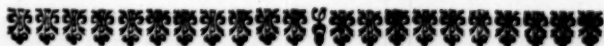
^a Τρόπαια ἱερῶν
^b ταῦ τανδρά-
αν ἑχέστα πα-
λαμῶν—

Enrip. He-
racl. v 786.

^b In Phenis.
Eur.



LIBER





LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

*De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem,
& somniantem.*



HERE were not many things in use among the Jewes the People of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not seem to have imitated, and so *vice versa*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldaei* among the Assyrians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Galleata* among the Sicilians, and the *Heirusci* among the Italians. Neither was the honour or credit of *Divination* lesse than the *use*. For if we may believe ^a *Strabo*, *Οἱ δὲ μάντις ἐπιούργοι ἄντι τῆ βασιλείας ἀξιοῦνται*, many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings: To a Persian King it was necessary, to any other convenient, *Amphilocheus*

lochus, and Mopsus Kings of Argivi were *Augurs* too. Helennus and Cassandra Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Physician*, it was reckoned so necessary, that *Æschylus* has uled *ἰατρός* a *Physician*, and *μῆνις* a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the Pestilence, to seek to *μαρτινῶ* for a cure. The Scholiast upon *Homer* speaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polydorus*, that were excellent in both Professions. Credit it had among the best Philosophers (especially that of *Dreames*, and *Enthysiasmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the *Socraticks*, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Aristotle* and the *Peripateticks*. *Pythagoras* indeed was against *extispicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* against that and all the rest.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men*, called *Μαρτεία*: or from the *Gods*, properly called *χρησμός* an Oracle. According to that of the (a) Scholiast upon *Sophocles*, *χρησμός* ^{a In Oed. Tyr.} *μὲν ὁ θεῶν, μαρτεία δὲ ἀνθρώπων*. Indeed *μαρτεία* seems to be the *genus*, and *χρησμός* the *species*. The same Prophecy which when it was spoken by a god, was a *χρησμός*, when it was delivered by (b) men, was *μαρτεία*. In the Oracles the word was ^{b Ennius.} *Fari (neque me Apollo fatiis sandis dementem invitam ciet)* where as in the other it could be but *presagire* at the wisest. The faculty in the first ἢ *μαρτινῶ* (as we now called it, ^{c Plato.} *ἀσπειρομένη τῶν ἐμβολόντων*) or ἢ *μαρτινῶ* as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, *χὲρ τὸ ματιώδες πολὺ μαρτινῶ ἔχει*) is divided by *Plurarch*, and *Cicero*, into *πυκνῶ* *artificiosam*, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observatis longo tempore significationibus* &c. And *2ly*, *Ἀτεχον ἀδιδυκνῶ* *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. These two *species* are said to be *ὁ διπάρης διδύμοι μαρτοσύνας*, the *twins*, or double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Janus* his sonne, and to his Family after him. The natural or infused faculty of Divination, most properly called *μαρτινῶ*, proceeded first *ἀ motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to prophecy; yet it seems rather to have been

*Eurip. in
Bacc. 199.*

been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophecy of *Isaiah* c. 44. v. 25. Said he would make their diviners mad. And *Cicero* himself sayes 'tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos affectus sit*, that he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods. Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodium* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded à *metasomnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it *in megavirulo*, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone tumbling down the hill.

The first kind coming by *Euthusiasme* of Inscription, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had, or *Polybius* prophesying his sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or else of greater, so as to command a belief: such as the Sybill women had; or the *Pythia* wench, who delivered the Oracles, which was nothing but a cunning trick, à *vafria quibusdam & quastuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that a *Terra vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, nature Sibyllam*. *Pythia* had it inspired or blown into her out of the ground, and the *Sibylles* had it by nature. Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens* than in any other part of the world, it may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, viz. *Pythium*, *Demonium*, and *Jupiter Hammon's*.

C A P. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first. It was called *Pythium*, for the same reason that the Woman

man was called *Pythia*, i.e. either from *Pytho* the serpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who possessed the place by conquest. Or from *Pytho* another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pythia* the sonne of *Delphus*, the sonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to distribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to distribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it *μυσθραλον ναυτίον*; because it was *μυσαλον* the *Navill*, or *Umbilicū* the mid'st of Greece, (saies *Strabo*) and not of the World as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio positi*. And this they came to know forsooth, by the two *Eagles* (saies *Pindar*, *Crowes* saies some, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in allusion to that name of *Μυσαλον* (by which it was commonly called) *Pausanias* saies there was to be seen in the Temple a *Navill* made of white stone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the *Navill* string. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from *μυση* the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeld to have it derived from the *Navill*, *quoniam neque locus is sit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus sit in homine medius*. But the latter reason is defeated by *Furnivius*, or by any one else. The first beginner of the Oracle (some say) was *Tellus*, *πρωτομαντι γαῖα*: and some *Themis*.

Η πρώτη ἰστίδου θεοτοῦ μαντιῶν ἀγῶν.

The first beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, *Diodor. l. 6*; comming to a den very large before, with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a suddain fell a leaping and making a strange noise. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) seeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the same frolicke; but prophesied too. And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the same purpose. Nay a great many, with the *breath* *ἅδω δαμνῶν*, or *anhelitus terra*, (as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, expired. Insomuch that afterward they set a *Three-*

footed stool upon the hole, and a Maid upon it consecrated for a Priestesse, whose common name was *Pythia*, and her office to put the Oracle into verse and deliver it out. For (saies *Plutarch*) the words are hers, only *Apello* τὰς ἐαυτοῖα πα-
 εἰσὶν, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ θυγᾷ πρὸς τὸ ἄντρον, late in under blowing with the bellows to set her a peeping or a whispering like those *ΠΥΘΙΑ* in *Isaiab* c. 8 v. 19. Where he speaks of such *ἰγγασεῖματις*, or belly Prophets that peep and mutter; such as the *Pythia* was, out of whose belly the Divel spake his propheties with a small peeping voice like a child's. But that Prophet in another place comes nearer to us, saying *Thou shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust.* Now some say the *Tripos* whereof I spake, was a pot filled with dust, thorow which the *efflatus*, the wicked inspiration was to passe into the belly of the Wench, and so to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that those Prophets, which in those times had a familiar spirit within them, were commonly called by the name of *ἰγγασεῖματις*, and *πυθιαῖς*, as well as *πύθιας*, and (c) *Εὐρυκλῆς*, the manner of her sitting, &c. when she took the spirit in, because it may not so fitly be expressed in English, I desire to give you it in the words of the d Scholiast, *Εὐρυκλῆς τὴν τοῦ τοῦ καὶ διαρῶν τὴν ἐκ τῆς πυθῆος κα-
 τὰ τὴν πυθῆος διὰ τῆς πυθῆος ἐκ τῆς πυθῆος, ἡ τὴν τοῦ καὶ τῆς πυθῆος, ἡ
 ἀρῶν ἐν τῇ πυθῆος πύθια καὶ πυθῆος, τὴν πυθῆος, ἡ πυθῆος πυθῆος
 τοῦ πυθῆος.* She was no sooner inspired, but she fell a tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, & cutting her flesh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus speaks of their gestures. *Sævis namque humeris & utraque manu districtos gladios excrentes currunt, effrantur, insaniant.* But this peeping may not make me preposterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripos*. The first Maids name that prophesied in that place, was *Phemonene*. All the rest were young Virgins, as she was, till *Echecrates*, a Thessalian

As I have
 heard he late.
 ly did in a
 possessed
 Christian in
 the Town of
 Barmick.
 Ch. 29. v. 4.

*Plutarch. de
 Orac. defec.*
 (c) And *Eu-
 ryclides* from
Eurycles a
 Prophet of
 that name.
 (d) *Aristoph.*
 in *Avid.*

Theſſalian, deſlowred *Phæbas*, and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The a cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they (a) *2. on Eu. rip. Phan.* went to ſchool, to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their hair in the fountain *Cafſalius* (where the Poëts, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too were uſed to waſh)

—κόμης ἡμᾶς δέχονται— when they ſate firſt on the ſchool, they uſed to ſhake b the Laurel-tree that grew (b) *2. on Ari- ſtoph.* cloſe by the *Triptm*, and ſometimes to take the leaves & chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies *μαστομαίνον δάκρυα*, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Cafſandra* *λαριωὶν δακρυοπόρος*.

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnafſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnafſus* from *Λάρναξ* *Dencalions Ark* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Triptm* (called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover-tripodes Cortina regis*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been *φιάλη* a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filled with *ῥέοι*, or *calculi*, *cuts* or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the pot, (*ῥέοι*) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to aſk, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the answer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called *ἄλμυ*, (as the table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called *ἑκαλμυ*, and his Wench *ἑκαλμυ*.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much loſe themſelves, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the answer, and make them more to ſeek, than they were before. But that they were reſolved to be

fooled, because forsooth *Appollo* is λοξός crooked there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he must πλαγιάζειν, be crabbed in his delivery, as well as in his gate. 'Tis his use

Senec. Oed.

Act. 2. Sc. 1.

Ambage n. x. a Delphico m. s. est deo

Arcana tegeret.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Æschylus*, οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον ἦ ἀνιγνῶσι γινώσκουσι, in ancient time they made their verses in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verse, as he saies.

-- διὰ περ carmina Sortes.

For *Sortes* they usually called them, and the Verse for the most part was *Hexameter*, in somuch that this Oracle,

Σοῦς Σοῦζαλῆς, σοῦ πάτερ δ' Εὐεμένης

Αἰσῶν ἢ πάντων Σακράτης σφύπεται,

De Pythia
Oracul.

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, because it was not heroic enough to become the Author. ^a *Plutarch* saies some were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpose in the Oracle place. μέγα γ' ἰσομήδιστον ἀγνῶ τοῖς γενναῖσι θεωλήωντες, to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verse. But one reason why they delivered their Oracles in verse, or in brief, and so commonly in obscurity, was, because the god ἀπαρτίειν μὲν ἐθέλει τὰ ἀληθεῖς, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet desirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in such manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the speaker, if that answer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it fell to prose (when it began to fall in the price) and the reason thereof has been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatise of purpose.

Polynam. 1:
2. 27.

The esteem which they had of those Oracles, was such; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perswade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tiresias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral gazer* himself, yet in *Euripides* you shall have him confessing to *Creon*, that

that men were so apt to speak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, besides Apollo's own.

—Φίλορ ἀνδραγαθὸς μύρον

Χρὸν δαμνῶν, ὃς δ' ἄνθρωπος ἰσχυρὰ,

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or some body else was naught, and corrupted very often. Tully when he had thus commended her for a tell troth, *numquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuisset, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta*, after ward comes in with a *7amdis idem non facit*: But indeed, *she has not been thus a long time*. Nay for three hundred years (I think) before his time, Demosthenes could complain she did *παίρω μὲν*, flatter and speak, as Philip would have her. Thus one time she was bribed by Clisthenes, to perswade the Lacedemonians to free the Athenians from the Tyranny: and another time by Cleomenes, to perswade them to deprive his Colleague Demaratus of his place. Neither would Lycophron call Apollo *Κισσῶν* for nothing.

Plutarch de
Herodoc.

But you will say some other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For so Cicero thinks they did in that answer reported to be given by Apollo to Pyrrhus, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere posse*. And that, First because Apollo did not speak in Latine. 2ly, Because none of the Greek writers mention any such thing. And 3ly, Because the Oracles were not given in verse in Pyrrhus his time.

L. 2. de Divin

C A P. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi cessatione.

ALl this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or *ἀνδραγαθὰ*, of most of the Princes or people in the world (insomuch that Aphetoria opes, so said from

in allusion to the three parts of the soul. The ship was likewise called *ἡμεῖς*, and sometimes *ἡμεῖς*. It was wont to be *Thes* sent his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Cress* to *Athens*, he instituted the plaies, and the solemnity celebrated by the afore said *Deliastra*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ship the *Athenians* kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὡς ἔχει τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐν τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ λόγῳ ἀμειψέσθαι τὸ πλοῖον ἢ ἢ μὴ ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, ἢ ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ διαίρει ἀναγκαίως, *Inasmuch* (saies *Plutarch*) *that Philosophers use to illustrate that opinion, that the body remains still the same, notwithstanding the continual decay, by this similitude.* Besides this, there were four more *naves sacra*, viz. the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were sent for the keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called *παμπύλα*. For when they came thither, first they a Sacrificed: and then the Maids sent thither from several places, fell a dancing a strange kind of daunce about the Altar, which they called *Γρανὸν*, *Græm* the *Crane*: wherein, their motions being crooked like the *Cranes* neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the *Minotaur's* Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biting at a bush of *Olives*, with their hands behind them (as our boys do at *snapple*) if so much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

Thucyd. l. 5.

(a) Εμψύχοις.
παμπύλας
apud Pind.
Olym. H.

Πεῖρ μέγαν ἢ σὺ βομῶν ὡς ἀλυσσὼν ἐλίζω,
Προσώπων ἢ ἀφίμων δὲ σαυτῶν ἀγνῶν ἐλαῖας
Χῆρας ὡς ἐπὶ φανῆς, &c.

Hymn in Del.

The Altar was *Καγῆν* βομῶν, and therefore called *Κεατῶν* because it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the horns of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* killed a hunting upon *Cynthus* hill. The horns were all of the left side, saith *Plut. in Theseo*. And yet in his book de *Soleria Animalium*, 'tis ἢ δὲ ἴων. Whether it should be rendered of the right side, or right, that is fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely were

were these horns joyned together without any Cement, glue or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *seven strange sights*,
 Ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ θαυμάσιον θαύμασι, as *Ovid* saies,

Miror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.

During all these holy dayes no malefactor was to suffer punishment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty dayes, ἵσται δὲ ἡ θύοεις ἐν δώλῳ ἑταίρῳ, saith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeisance as they passed by, which made him complaine so in *Enripides*.

In Hippel.

Ὁδὸν ἡμῶν δὲ θύοεις ἀφ' ἑλίου σέλας

Πόλας ἀνολέας ἐνυπνίου πρὸς ἑστῶν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease, is uncertaine: Some say, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flourished after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceased as soon as men had wit enough to advise themselves, without seeking to him that made it his businesse to couzen them. *Dion* saies, it was *Nero* murdered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the ^aHyperborean Scythians: for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Priests, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The Athenians when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vowes and prayers in the name of the rest. And it was their fashion to send gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to *Delphos*. But what need we doubt of the time or the cause, since we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* asserts,

— Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,
 Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra.
 Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non spumat anhelus
 Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
 Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores
 Nec responsa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

^a Pulcher Apollo Lustrat
 Hyperboreas
 Delphis ces.
 fantibus aras
 Claudian.

The Oracle place, (τὸ δῶδον or χενσιέον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *Schole* for the family of *Gham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devill to this delusion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almost inaccessible for heat, as that place at *Delphos* was for height. *Dodona's Grove* is thought to have been such another *Schole*, viz. for the off-spring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair of Doves, that should come from *Egypt*, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in *Epiru*, and there using the voyce of a man, among other good instructions, gave order for the building of a Temple in that place, which was done by *Dencalion* after his ship came thither (while I speak of these things, I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) besides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. These two Oracles are reckoned the most ancient of all, and of these two, the last. Τὸ δῶδον τὸ τοῦ παλαιῶν ἀρχαῖον τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι χενσιέον. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by most, that those Doves were certain Women priests or Prophets, fetcht from *Egypt* (the Mart of superstition) by the *Phœnicians* first, and from them convey'd into *Thessaly*. Now in the *Thessalian* language, the same word which signifies a Dove, is used also to signify a Prophetess, ἡ προφήτις. *Eusebius* sayes, that in the *Thessalian* tongue old Women were called προφῆται, and old Men προφῆται, and that those Prophetesses being three old women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarata*, & *Nicander*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly supposed to be Doves. The same Author also sayes, that perhaps those women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would scarce allow to be men & women) for their rude brutish language might have been counted as so many birds. But it seems to have been no such strange thing in ancient times, for Prophetesses to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron*.

Herodot.

In III. E.

phron calls *Cassandra* by the name $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ *Palumbæ*: though in another place she have the name of a more tatling Bird, viz. $\phi\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon$ $\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\upsilon$ the Swallow, The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachinia*) hath another conjecture more, besides that which I named last, viz. That these Prophetesses had the name of $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota$: or rather, if you will, the old women, therefore had the name of $\mu\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha\iota$, because they were $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ gray-haired and aged.

Strabo speaks of four Priests called $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\tau$ $\phi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho$, from the *fens* neer the Temple, viz. of *Jupiter* surnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homer* calls them $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$, saying

$\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\gamma\ \Sigma\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$

$\Nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\pi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \chi\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon$.

They used not to wash their feet, and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amid'st the boughs, and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from between them. They are called $\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$, and $\mu\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\iota\ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\phi\rho\omega\iota\ \kappa\iota\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\rho$. Round about the Temple stood Basins of Brasse, one just against the other $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\alpha$, saith *Eusebius*, of which if you struck but one, all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Æt Dodonæum* became a Proverb. Be-like they used to strike the Basins as they used to do other Basins and Pots, with a Ring held by a thread in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessel so many times, to make a Divination by the sounds.

a *Cæco To-*
muri jovis
augure luco
Arbore præ-
sagâ tabulas
animâsse Lo-
quaces.
Claudian.

CAP. III.

*De Divinatione per somnium, super Melotas in
Templis, cum observatione diata.*

PROPHECYING by a *Dream*, was either *ὄνειρος*, *Somniatoris*, of a *Dreamer of Dreams*, or *ὄνειρος*, *Conjectoris*, of an *Interpreter of Dreams*, such as *Hecuba* spake of, when she said *ὅς μοι κῆρυξ τοῖς ὄνειροις*. The latter of these surely belongs to the technical part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Arts*. For he that shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue skill, because *si sape jactaveris, quandoque venerem jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habes?* Besides if it were no *Art*, what talk we of *Xenophon's* Dreams in his service with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were so many books written of this subject? For, to say nothing of eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise *ἐπὶ ὄνειροις* reported by (b) *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books, *Artemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty books of it himself; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore *Senarii* Verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a Dream. But the Dream (you must understand) was not every *ὄναρ*, or *vain dream* (for so does the Etymology import, *ὄναρ* τὸ ὄν ὄντι ἀνδρὶ ἀποῖν, saies *Eustathius*) but *ὄναρ*, or *ὄνειρος*, a *morning dream*; fresh and fasting, such as *ὄναρ* is, saith *Hom.* which they derive *παρὰ τὸ ὄντι ἀποῖν*, which comes about waking time, or *ὄνειρος* which they derive *παρὰ τὸ ὄντι ὄντι*, and of such is that of *Orphens* in the *Hymn*: *ἀλλ' ὄναρ ἰδὲ Ἀχαιὸς ἀλλότῳ δυνάτῳ χρησάμενος ἀμύσει*. I believe few that read me are such as *Plutarch's* *Thrasymede*, or *Plinies* *Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make *Hom. Odys.* bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured T.

Lib. 1. Divin.

a Hadr. Jun. animad.

b In Pompeio.

^a Lib. 7.
Cap. 5.

who was the first conjectour in this kind, ^a Pliny saies, *Amphy-
lyon*, Dencalion's son; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*, *Trogus Pom-
peius*, *Joseph*, *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiarauus*,
whom he reports to have been deified for his skill, and that
they used to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a dream.
they talk that the people that lived neer *Boristhones*, and the
Gad's, were excellent at this work; and so were those that li-
ved at the ^b *Hible*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among
all, the old doting women were best at it.

^b *Pausan. Eli-
ac. Propertii
in Li. 2. El. 4.*

Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.

When they desired to dream a propheticall dream, some-
times they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiarauus*, and sleep
upon the fleece. For thus the *Daurii* used to do in the Tem-
ple of ^c *Chalckas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melota*
sheep-skins, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podali-
ria*. And it seems, it was a common practice both for drea-
ming; for *Virgil* also saies,

^c *Ερμηνεύει δ'
αὐτὸν μὴ ἀνα-
κρίνοντοί τε αὐτὸν
δύοι ἱγχοί-
αυτοῖσι ἐν τῷ
Νηεῦατι Στρα-
βὼ l. 6.*

—Casarum ovium sub nocte silenti

Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit.

And also for purifying a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and
other sacrifices: for they took the skins of beasts that had
been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of
Διὸς καὶ θύα) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no
small use of fleeces and skins in several other businesses;
as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I
told you) sat upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her pur-
pose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scy-
thians* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a
man had been wronged, and need of help to revenge him-
self, he would sacrifice an Ox, and cut the flesh into pieces
and boyl it, and sit upon the skin with his hands behind
him, and so beg for help. Then come his friends, and eve-
ry one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot
on the skin, promised either men or arms: or what he
best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast
engage-

Cal. Rodig.

engagement, and much conducing to the successe. Sometimes they would go and sleep in the Temple with Laurel, or some such fatidical stuff tyed about their heads, and sacrifice to ^a Brizo, the goddess of the dreamers, so called from *Βριζεν* ^a *Ἀντὶς ὅς τις ἵπν* to sleep. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpose to sleep in ^b *ἑν τῷ ἱερῷ* the Temple of *Pasibia*, to watch for dreams. So if any were *Athenians* sick would go and sleep in the Temple of *Æsculapius* ^c *Ἰ. 8.* to dream of a remedy, (as they have used to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who should dye next) *Pluto* in *Aristophanes* did so.

Κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἑορτὴν, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.

And the like was wont to be done in *Egypt* in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has sufficiently declared the vanity of all these doings in saying,

Non delubra deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt

Sat. 6.

Sed sibi quisque facit.

Besides all this they took a special care of their diet, so as to fast for one day before, and abstain from wine for three: as likewise to forbear eating Beans or raw fruit. *Aristotle* saies, there is no credit to be given ^a *ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ οἷς ἐνυπνίου*, to dream in the Autumn. But *Plutarch* questions that again, and sayes if we eat good and ripe fruit, ^b *ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅς τις ἵπν* *Symp. 1. 9.*

^c *ἡ τῶν κακῶν οἷς ἐνυπνίου*, our dreams will be the truer. Fish, either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they sacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fish, whether it were to please the goddess with the sparing of the best thing, or the rejection of the worst, I cannot tell. ^b *Plutarch* observes that the head of a *Polypus* is ^c *Cal. Rhod.* as soure in the dream, as 'tis sweet in the tast: and therefore *1. 27. c. 10.*

compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately used. Some choice there was also of the colour of their Cloaths. For the whitest and clearest was best, ^a *καλὴν καὶ λευκὰν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ* ^b *εἶναι*, sayes *Snidas*: as if Dreams and Visions must needs be the clearer. The truest dreams (^c *ἡ ἀληθὴς*) or the clearest visions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the

α ὅς οἱ ἐπαγγίς
ἔπειτα ἰπποῦτο
πυκτὸς ἀμολγῆς.
γῶ. *Odyss. d.*

b Namque sub
aurora jam dor-
mitante lucerna,
Tempore quo
cervi somnia
vera solent.

morning (the former time a *Homer* calls πυκτὸς ἀμολγῆς, the milking time in the Morning, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγῆς the milking time in the Evening)

—ἐγγυθὶ δ' ἡὲς

Εὐπὶ α' ἀφαικίον ποταμῶν αἰδ' ὄνειρον.

saies *Theocritus*: and b *Ovid* was of the same mind. *Pliny* saies a dream is never true presently after eating & drinking. But *Artemedorus* saies 'tis all one for that, ἐπεὶ αἱ αὐτοὶ προαἰσθῆναι τῶν παρήγουσιν ἰδὲν τὸ ἀληθές, for if you eat too much, the dream will never be the truer, if it carry till morning.

C A P. IV.

De duabus portis.

Odyss. v.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two distinct doors for them to come in by, one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope* her self could tell *Ulysses* (when she desired him to interpret her dreams)

Δοῖται γὰρ πύλαι ἀμεινων εἰσὶν ὄνειρον

Αἰ μὲν γὰρ κερῶσι τεταράσσεται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι,

Ansonius saies as much, telling you which are the true, and which the false,

*Et geminas numera portas quæ fornice chorno
Semper fallaces glomerant super aera somnos,
Altera quæ veros emittit cornu visus.*

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the same. *Philostrophus* saies, that in allusion to these doors, they used to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and a Horn in his hand. The door for the true dreames was of Horn.

*Nonnus di-
on. d.*

Απλανέῳ θρώσκοντι δὲ κυκρῶν πυλῶν.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for the

the false and deceitful dreams, was of Ivory, such as that wherewith *Morhemus* was cozened with in the Poet,

Μόρμεια δ' ὤνυσεν παρήσασεν ὄψις ὄνυρα

Καί φιν' ὄνυρα ἰλάραντ' ἀναιξασα πύλας.

Nonn.

Lucian therefore jeeres the covetous *Micyllus* for wishing his dream-door were of Gold, whereas there were but those two in all, as may be gathered by these words in *Plato*. *In Char.*

Αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ, οὔτε διὰ κέρατων, οὔτε δι' ἰλάρωντ' ἰλήλυθαι. The reason of those names, I find very prettily guessed at by the Scholiast upon *Homer* at the place above commended, and I shall desire your patience to tell them. First, the true (says he) comes by the Horn-door, or ἐκ κέρατ' : because τὰ ἱπποια κεραινοῖσι, or κραινοῖσι, that is, effectum reddunt, they lay no more than comes to passe, whereas those that come in by the Ivory-door, or ἐξ ἰλάρωντ', ἰλεραίνωντων, or ἰλεραίνωντων, delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly, κεραινὴν ἐμβολήν, the coming in by the Horn is as much as coming clearly, for one may see through horn, if it be made thin : ἰλεραντίν, the other confusedly, for one cannot see through Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milk or the like, if they be never so little, and so *Macrobius* does Interpret it too. 3ly, By the Κέρατ is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κερατοειδὲς χροὶς, cornea tunica, the first coat of the eye. And by the ἰλάρως the mouth, or the Ivory-coloured teeth, ἰλεραντοχέστως ἰδδόντες, and so the meaning must be, that which is to be seen with the eye is likelier, than that which is but said to be so from the teeth. And this was also the opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction, upon those words of *Virgil*,

Sunt Geminae somni porta, &c.

4ly, By the Horn-door, may be meant the passage for the more Heavenly and Diviner sort of dreames, κεραινὸς ὄνειρος, δὴσμητος : by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιος : the more earthly, grosse, and confused, Because the Elephants *Proboscis* turnes downeward towards the earth, whereas the

horns

h Speaking of sleep says he, Hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum usque animam in- trospicientis ad- mittit de cornu creditur, cujus ista natura est, ut tenuatum vi- sui pervium sit, cum autem à vero habitat ac repellit obtusum, ebur putatur cu- jus &c. l. c. 3. in Somnium. Scip.

horns of other beasts look upward toward Heaven. γλυ, *Eλπί-
καρτος*, is the door for the false dreams, because there can be
no other but false dreams expected, when the teeth have eaten
too much.

The Guests which are to come in by these doors, were
thought to be *Ghosts* and *Spirits* from Hell. *Umbra*, shadows
they might well be: and such as ascend in a *fume* too, like *Fu-
ries* from the nether part of the body. Again, as *Ghosts* are

^a *Homer.*
Odys. 4.

— *δύμῳ ἀρίστῳ*, said to fly in and out like dreams,
and death is a sleep: so dreams are said to fly in and out like
Ghosts, and sleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them *νυκτίπονα*
δύμια, *Night-walking Bug-bears*. Fly they did with *black*
wings, like *Batts* of the night: and therefore *Euripides*
calls a dream *μαλακὸν ὄνειρον*, *Orpheus* *πυλὸν ὄνειρον*, *Lucian* *πύλον*.
If this be so, the reason, why before they went to bed, when
they meant to dream, they used to sacrifice a *Victime*, to
Mercury, was, it may be, not so much because of his *Rod*,
with which he brought people a sleep, and awakened them
again, as because he was *Gentleman-usher* of the *Ghosts*:
for what reason soever it was, it seems *Mercury* was most
in their minds when they were ready to sleep: and there-
fore as at feasts, so at other times, the last of their prayers
was to him, and the last health that went round was his. For
so we finde *Calasiris* in *Heliodorus*, ἐν τῷ πύλῳ, &c. After he had
prayed to all the rest of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for
εὐνέμετον νύκτωρ, a *night of good dreams*. Hence was it that they
used to fasten τὰς ἐμας, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet,
which from thence had the name of *Εμαίτις*. When they sa-
crificed that *victim*, they used to take the tongue and ^b burn
it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all
tongues and speech to be consecrated, ὡς τὸ λῆγεν ἡ ἑρμηνείας
ἱερεῖς, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. With whom
agrees *Athenæus*, προσνέμεται ἡ αὐτῷ αἱ γλῶσσαι διὰ τὸν ἑρμην-
εύαν. Others who did not think dreams to be *Ghosts*, yet
would have them to be put into the head by *Spirits*, as

Plato

L. 3.
Suidas.

^b *2. on Odys.*
12.

Plut.

Plato who thought the aire to be full of such things. And so Democritus (as the Scholiast reports, who sayes that he had it from Homer himselfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dream $\chi\tau\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\eta\ \kappa\upsilon\sigma\mu\omega\sigma\iota$, or (as a Plutarch has it from the same man) $\chi\tau\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \kappa\upsilon\sigma\mu\omega\sigma\iota\ \epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omega\varsigma$, according to this composition ^a De Placit. or separation of Images, or Ghosts, or Phancies, or somewhat. But Philof. indeed I thinke those $\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omega\varsigma$ should not be so much Images as Imaginations, nor so much umbra Ghosts, as adumbrationes, Images and Species in the phancy proceeding from the spirita within, and not from those without.

G A P. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum Instratione.

FOR their descent, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the Earth, $\chi\delta\omega\tau\ \mu\upsilon\tau\eta\ \epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, saies Euripides. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, $\epsilon\kappa\ \mu\epsilon\tau\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\eta\ \tau\epsilon\pi\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\ \epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omega\varsigma$, $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\eta\ \upsilon\pi\eta\sigma\iota\ \epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omega\varsigma$, because from the earth comes meat, from meat sleep, and from sleep dreams. Some indeed thought, they were from Hecate, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the Moon, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the Kind of Dreams, Macrobius makes five, viz. 1. $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, 2. $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, 3. $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, 4. $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, 5. $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$. Others divided them into $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, and $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ were $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, when things appeared in their owne likenesse. $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ were when they appeared in the likenesse of other things, when one thing was dreamt and another meant, Such as Caesar's was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portandi, quæ cunctorum viventium sit mater*, that the whole earth, the mother of every living thing was to be under him: Nay the distinction of dreams was so accurate,

curate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no leffe than three servants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dreame that should concern men, he made use of *Morpheus*, if beasts, of *Phobetor* (as men called him) or *Icolos* (as the gods called him) *Fis fera, fit volucris*— if inanimate creatures (*quæque vacant animâ*) of him that had the name of *Phantasos*.) I wonder how he could remember all the shapes, and the river of *Lethe* spring in his house, and his house be as darke a den as any among the *Cimmerii*, for so it is fained to be.)

But after all this doring about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the best? Yes by all means, as soon as I arise, be sure to tell it to *Vesta*, or some other household stuff, *diis penatibus*.

*Vadis & hinc casta narratum somnia Veste
Qua sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura ferent.*

Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 29. Or if you thinke this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo aver-*

tuncus, called by them ἀποτρόπιος, ἡκαέσιος, or ὡσαύτιος, because his Image used to stand in the *Perches*. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and some to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. But there is better reason why they should do it to the *Sun*, viz. ἵνα ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ ἐστὶ τῇ συντὶ ἀποτροπὴ ἐρχέσθαι, &c. Because the *Sun* being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evils brought by the same. They are the words of the Scholiast upon that of *Sophocles* — ἡλίου δεικνυσι τ' ἔσθαι, &c. They called this action ἀποτίμησις, ἀποδοτικὴ ὁρμή, and ἀποτρέψαι ἐννοχον ὄλεον, but most properly, ἀποτροπὴ ἀζέειν τοῦ ἡλίου. It was practised by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when she had dreamt of the fall of the house: although she (or the Poet) had so much wit as to think it to be) to little purpose.

In Electr.

*Enrip. in
Hec.*

Idem in

Tam. v. 43.

*Αεὶ ναὶ δ' ἦ καὶ νῶξ ἀέροντα δάσματα
Λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρα δὴ τόδ' ἐς' αἶετα,*

If you thinke that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and wash your selfe lustily in
the

the cold River till you sweat.

— *sub lucem ut visa secundant.*

Oro cœlicolæ, & vivo purgor in amne.

Sil. Ital. l. 8.

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain, as he did in * *Æschylus.*

* *In Persis.*

Επὶ δ' ἀνέλω κ' ἡγεῖν καλλιρρόῃ

Εφαυτα πρὸς σὺν δυνάσῃ ἡγεῖ

Βαμὲν ποταμῷ ἀποδυαίσις δαίμων

Θάλασσα δὲ οὐκ ἔλασσον.

If you think no cold water will do it, call for hot, as he does in *Aristophanes.*

— ἢ καὶ ποταμῶν ὄρεσιν ἄρεται

Θέρματα δ' οὐδ' ἔστι

In Raris.

Ὡς αὖθις ὄρεον ἀπεκλύσται.

But perhaps no kind of fresh water is strong enough; you may do well therefore to try in the Sea, for there they used to wash away not only the evil of a dream, but of a crime, or disease, or any thing else: for 'tis reported that *Enripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Egypt*, being troubled with the falling-sickness, was bid by the Priest, to bath himself in the sea, and being by that means cured, he presently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα καὶ ζῆν πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακὰ.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his sight. After murder (for other sins they scarce thought great enough, to cast hot water) it was a common practice; and then no fear of the displeasure of a god for the future.

λύμαθ' ἀγνίστους ἱερὰ

Μῆτιν βαρύνει ἑκαλύπτου δαΐς.

SECT. II.

De divinatione artificiosâ, & primo,
de Ornithomantiâ.

THE Technical part of Divining, artificiosū genus divinandi, as Cicero calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts. Besides which were οἰωνοὶ or κληιδόσεις ominous words, or things σὺμβολα ἐνέσθια, κληιδόσεις, τήματα fights, and indeed ἱερόα μύθια (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two first were every where most in use. *Quæ est autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ vox, aut exis pecudum, aut Augurum, aut fortissim prædictione moveatur?* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisatians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedæmonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car*, *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adiecit ex cæteris animalibus Orphæus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding useful to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the war should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

*Nam quot aves tetra mactatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœna sariabit Achivos.*

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow (say

H. A.

Cicer. l. i.
Divin.

L. 7. c. 55.

H. B.

(say some) or how many Figs upon the Fig-tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ὀψιδομαντία, or οἰωνιστία, It was οἰωνιστία at first with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*; as being ἐν τῷ νῦ ὁ οἰωνιστὴς μετὰ αὐτὸν ἀνδραγαθὸν ὄντων : but now (saith *Aristides*) they write it with *omega* τὸ δὲ σμυρομένη, to give the better grace to the word : and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ὄρνις, and οἰωνὸς a bird, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* fashion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines) and to have his ἐπισκήριον his place and his seat appointed for the purpose, καὶ δάκτυλ, or δάκτυλα

Εἰς δὲ πάλαιον δάκτυλ ὀψιδομαντίας ἦτορ Saies he
in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiast upon the words δάκτυλ in *Euripides* saies, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tiresias* used to sit and divine. When they went to it οἱ οἰωνοκῆται ἐν δάκτυλ ἰσχυροὶ τοὺς ὀρνίθους (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their memory might not suffice, they carried their *Table-books* with them, and wrote down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the seeing too *Tiresias* being blind, and only able to fore-see, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do for him: by which means she her self at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the *habitus* of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of observing was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis? Aliter observant, aliter respondent, saies Cicero.* The Greeks accounted the right side the luckiest, *Graii & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the left. Although (to speak the truth) the side was the same, only the posture of the *Augures* was different. For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans toward the south, & the word *sinistra* for lucky or good signes, came not so much à sinistra manu from the

In *Antigon.*

L. 2.

the hands being left; as a *finendo*, from the *man's* being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would. So *Saies Fefus*: and *Cicero* thus, *Quamquam haud ignoro qua bona sunt sinistra nos dicere, etiamsi dextra sint*. But yet this was the manner of speech, viz. For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies *ἄξιον* right (and therefore *Statius* may seem to have mistaken, when he spake of Grecian Augury,

a Ζεύς δὲ σὺν
κροῖδ' ἔσθ' ἐν δ' ἔ-
ξα σόματα φαι-
νει,

Saies Ajax

Hom. II. 10.

b Th. b.

b *Signa feras levisque tones* —) the Romans sometimes *dextra*, and sometimes *lava*; but the one *more suo*, and the other *more Græco*. Unluckie birds (a word used among us for an unhappy wag) they called *ἔξωλαίμους*, or *ἔξωλ' ἔσθ' ἔσθ' ἔσθ'*, when they fled not, or picht not in their usual height or place. This last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hippolytus* perhaps in allusion to it.

Enrip. Hippol.
v. 934.

— ἐκπλήσσει ἡ.

ἄλλοι περὶ ἀλλοτρίους ἔξωλ' ἔσθ' ἔσθ' ἔσθ'.

Ἐκείν' ἄλλοι
ἐφομαίνοντα
ἔξωλ' ἔσθ' ἔσθ'
πλέοντα.
Saies Aeschylus.

Sometimes they are called *ἀποδύμους*, or *καλυπτοὶ inhibe*, *ἐπ' ἀρ-
ποι arcule*, and *ἀνέκ' ἀλλοι* (as in *c Apollonius*) *ab ἐκ' ἀλλοι*, as
who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinentia*; as I told you be-
fore. And such they commonly counted those that had long
talons or scratcht their heads as they fled, such (as they say)
were seen upon *Cassius* his Tent before his defeat: the La-
tines call them *Volsgras*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor
remedy against a few paltry birds? yes I have read in *Apu-
lius* of a trick to kill one or two of the Wörser sort, and hang
them up at the door: as we use to do dead Crows upon
a stick in the field, to scare the living away: Saies he, *Istas
nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Latrem quempiam, sollicitè
prehensas foribus videmus affigi, ne quod in saustis volatibus sa-
milie minantur, exitium suis luanet cruciatibus*. Birds that were
luckie either in their nature, or the place they appear in,
were called *αἰσίοι*, or *ἰδοι*, that is, such as were not *ἔξωλ' ἔσθ' ἔσθ'* (*un-
seasily*, or *unsightly* as we use to say) but appeared *παμπεπνι-
ς ἐν ἰδ' ἔσθ' ἔσθ'*, (as *d Aeschylus* has it) in their proper sphere or seat
such they counted Doves, and the *ἑρμῆ* in matters of Love:

Metam. li. 3.

d Op. v. 180 v.

πῶς ἐκ ἐκ ἐκ ἐκ.

αἰσίοι.

Enrip. in Hec.

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing in matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold the Thebans a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere so- leret, canere, si vicisset*, Cock-fightings indeed were usually ^a *Lib. 3. c. 5.* *σάτωι σιμαστικῇ* saith ^a *Artimedorus*, *signes of sedition and dis- cord*. But then you must except the Cock matches kept once a yeare in the Theatre, and instituted by ^b *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians*, from whom ^c the Cock first came into *Athens*. This bird being alwayes very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: infomuch that it was their *Rosin.* ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes* in *Avibus* calls it *Αἰσῶ τοῦ Μάρ* *Mars his owne bird*. All birds (saith ^{z.} *In Aristoph* one) were either *μαστιγῆς*, or *μυστῆς* or *σαλάουα*. *μαστιγῆς* ^{Aves,} (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles, and Doves, and Owles the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augures came to understand by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venomous and veneneficiall meanes: *Qui credit ista* (saies *Pliny*) *& Melampodi profecto aures, lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis Dracones non abnuet, vel qua Democritus tra- dit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia.* *Eus- tathius* saies, that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus licked cleane into Augurs, *Ελένη ἔκ Κασσάνδρας ὁ τὰν Ἀπολλωνῶν ὄν- των ἐλθόντες ὅτις ἔτι τὸ τῶν φιλῆσαντες ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁμοίους ἐργά- σαντο δι' ἑαυτοὺς τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀκούειν βολάς.* I am glad I am saved the labour to reprove those fellowes *my self*. For it seems that the wiser sort even amongst them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's tale, when they had a mind to be serious. Looke in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban Au- gur (who had dissuaded him from fighting, by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies bee, *you may, if you thinke good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds,*
sill

till your eyes be out for my part this is my opinion.

Εἰ οἰωνοὶ αἰετοὶ ἀμὺν ἴδωσι καὶ παύσῃ.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes*, chirping and gibing their spectators of their superstition.

Εὐμῆρ δ' ὕμῶν δαίμων, Δαίμοι δ' αὖθις ἐοῖσι. Ἀπείδων,

Εὐδέντι δ' ἄλλοι ἐπ' ὄρνεις, ἔτι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὰ τρέμει.

CAP. I.

De extispicina, & quibusdam aliis.

Divination by the Entrails of Beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruispicina*, Divination in Sacrifices, is denominated *a potiori* from the best part of it (was more common than that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* saies *Cicero*:) and especially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *ſamida*, and the *κλυτιδα*, and *Thelmeſſas* in *Caria* much improved. *Tiresias* had ſo great ſkil in this art (I cannot ſay *inſight*, becauſe *Jupiter* gave him the ſkill to recompence his *blindneſſe*) that even after his death, among the *Ghoſts* there were none but ^b his. *Ulyſſes* himſelf was faine to trouble his ſoul to come back again to give him adviſe. The whole buſineſſe of Divining at the offering of *arvictime* (for there was ſomething elſe to doe beſides poring in the guts) was called *ἱεροσκοπία*. And a very ſolemn buſineſſe it was, being uſually attended with a feaſt, according to that,

^a *Pindar.*

ἅπαντες ὅσον ὄρνεις
ἱεροσκοπεία οἶον
πῶς πῶς.

Hom Odyſſ.
K.

Eurip. Eleſt.
v. 835.

— ὅπως πεδυνείας θοῖνα τ' αἵδα.

Θοῖνα, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφοβολα, and the act of cutting *ἱεροσκοπία*. The ſignes obſerved were moſt properly called *σημεῖα*, and the obſervers *σημειωτικοί*. If the beaſt were drawn by force to the ſlaughter, if it eſcaped by the way, avoyded the blow, fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying, kept

1. *Enripi* and *Enripi*. - *H. sychnus* calls it *idē*, or *αυτοῦτος*, *Enripi*-
 2. *Enripi*. - *Enripi*.

— — πῦλαί τε καὶ θύρῃ πάλαι

Καὶ ἔτι πάλιν σκεπύτῃ ἀντιβολᾷ

If there were *διδας* (as they called it) too much dryth, or *δισμός* a *rys* between the parts, or especially if it were *αλοβον*, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill sign according to that of *Appian* τὸ φοβερόν αὐλοβία ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἴδιον θανάτου, τὸ δὲ τιμὰ ἴδιον θανάτου. This and other such signs because they were so bad, that they feared to go any farther in it; they called it *αἰμαδία*. When they came to handle the heart, they called it *καρδιοδία*, or *καρδιολαμία*. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill sign. Far in any part of the bowels was good (*κρίσις ἐν κώλῃ πύλαις ὀφείλει*) saies *Æschylus*; and to were *ἐν πλάγῳ πύλαις*, plaits and foldings, saies *Euripides*.

Heſych.

When they came to burning, then they were said more properly *ἱεῖς πυρὸς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς*. At Delphos they had *πυρρῶνες* officers of purpose for the work. The fire which they made use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in Egypt they had the *Seraphim*, and among the Persians, the fire which they worshiped under the name of *Ormasda*. At Athens they had a torch still burning in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at Delphos, and at Rome in the Temple of *Vesta*.

Xenoph.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against all other divinations too.

V. 751.

Good signs in the flame were these, if it went upright without a noise, if it continued till all were consumed : or if it suddenly began to have the latter sign, instead of *clef wood*, which they used at other times, they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, and cord

cording to that,

Οὐκ ἔνδον οὐδ' αὐτὴν τὸ φέρονον πῖδοναι.

Now indeed many times *a* ἡ δὲ πῖδα καὶ ἡ σάβη, γινώσκουσιν εἰς
πῦρ βλάπτουσιν, that is, the Priests being *divinarumque sagaces*

Flammarum, divin'd by the burning, when there was nothing *c* Sil. Ital.
seen in the casting: and therefore they took the bladder, and

binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason *Sophocles*
calls the bladders *μαλὸν δὲ τὰς κούρας*) put into the fire, to

observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the *Envip* in
Urine, *ἡ τὴν τῶν ὕδρων ἀπορτίζει*. Sometimes they took pitch off *Phen*.

the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but *Μάρτυς μὴδ'*
one entire flame, it was taken for a good sign. In matters *ἡττοζοῦμαι*

of hostility, they took most notice of the gall, and the *ἀκρὰ πύρι τ' ἀκ-*
λαμπαῖς in the flame: and very good reason, *πικρὰ δὲ ἔχθρῃ, μάς Ρήξεις* *f*

for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt. Of the Ashes *αἰώμων ὕδα-*
too they took some notice *αὐτὴν ἀποδῶ*, saies *Sophocles*. In *τὴν ἐναντίαν*

the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the *Νίκης τὸ σῆμα*
flesh. And so at other times they used to throw frankincense *ἡ δὲ ἡσώμα-*

and Poppey, and other several things in the fire, for nothing *γὰρ*
else but to observe such things, and to smell the smoak. Besides *a* In *Oedip*]

these there were infinite more *Divelists* sorts of Divinati- *Tyr*.
ons: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the *Καλὸν δὲ αὖμα*

more notorigus. *Νεκρομαντεία* or *Νεκρομαντεία*, was some- *δουμαματων*
times by the magical use of a bone, or a vain of a dead body, *Ἀδελφὸν δὲ αὖμα*

alter the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by powring hot *πορ σπληντά-*
blood into the carcassee, to make it answer a question, as *πλὴν ἐστὶν*.

Erieto does in *Lucian*,

Horac.

—Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quarit

Protinus astrictus caluit crur, air áque fovit

Vulnera &c.—

Now because the Ghost or the Soul was thus recalled to the
body (*—animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore some-
times termed *ψυχομαντεία* or *Συνομαντεία*, divining by the
Soul, or the Ghost. But such as expected any answer thus
from the soul then, must be sure to be kind to the body before:

Herod. l. 6.

Sta. l. 4.

Pausan. in
Lacœon.

L. 30. c. 11.

for *Melissa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refused to answer him; because he had buried her body as he should. But surely there was somewhat worse than a soul, else what need of *Extrication* of the party? Such as *Tiresias* used to the *Theban* King, to keep him from the receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was sometimes by Sea-water, but most commonly by that of a fountain, and so was called *πυρομαντεία*. It was done severall wayes. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a Peet too) *ὅς ἐστι δὲ σφύραιαν ὕδατος πάντες μαντικὴν ποτεῖν*, saies *Aristides* in his *Orat. de Puteo* 2ly, By throwing things into it to try whether they would sink or swim, as they did cakes in the well of *Ino*. 3ly, By seeing the Images of such things as they sought for, especially in the Well of *Apollo Tiryxiæ* in *Achaia*. 4ly, By dipping a glasse in the water, to know what would become of a sick man. For as he lookt well or ill in the glasse, accordingly they presumed of his future condition. 5ly, By throwing in three stones, and observing the round they made in the sinking. Sometimes they made use of Oyl, or of Wine instead of Water: and so it was termed *ῥητλα*, as when it was done in a Bason, *λεχαιομαντεία*. *Λιδομαντεία*, was by a *Sederitis*, a kind of loadstone, which if they washt in Spring-water, would speak like a child. With such a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the destruction of *Troy*. *Κοσμομαντεία*, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers, and turning round at the naming of the party that stole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl. 3*. And I have seen it used by some women, *impia fraude*, or *anili superstitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leasure (neither indeed is it *santi*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of *δακτυλομαντεία*, with *Gyges* his ring: or of *ὄσσωμνία* with Eggs, which *Suidas* saies *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of *κριδομαντεία* with barley, or of *λυχνομαντεία*, by the burning of a candle, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural History*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*. To which you may adde their common old wives-laying concerning weather

ther or the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrologicall* and *Rational*, such as that of *Virgil*.

Luna Revertentem, &c. with the rest.

C A P. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have spoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* also, by which according as the words were good or bad, they presaged such and such events. Such words were called *καλῶδεις*, or *ῥήματα*, from *ῥάτω* (suitable to the name of *Propheta*): as *omen* comes from *oremen*, *quia fit ore* (quoth *Festus*.) You may render it *voices* (for so we use to call those prophetic speeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture also does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*: *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observarunt, sed etiam hominum*. Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliked, they called *δυσφημία*: and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was said to *βλασφημεῖν* *αὐτὸν* to blaspheme him, *δυσφημίαν βλασφημίαν* *Euripides* calls it, where he speaks of certain ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant, just as one of the company was going to drink

L. I. Diſſin,

βλασφημίαν με οἶκτος ἐδυσφημῶ.

The Latines call it *obscenare*, and the words themselves *male ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may english it *hazle-ning speeches*. Such words as these they had alwaies a superstitious care to avoid: insomuch that they would say instead of *δεσμωθεῖσιν* a prison, *δίκαια* a house. And so for *Epitaphs*, *Εὐμνήσας*, and *Επιτάφιος* *ῥήματα*: for *ῥήματα*, *ῥήματα*: for *ῥήματα*, *ῥήματα* and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Republica*) *non licet*, or (to speak in the phrase of *Terence*) *Religio est dicere*, they made a scruple so

Jon. 1188.
Epist. ad
Cassium.

Plato l. 7. de
Leg.

Speak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other busi-
ness with the gods, nothing was more strictly commanded
and observed, than *ὑπομνήν* (as it was among the Romans in
the Proclamations for keeping of holy dayes) to avoid all omi-
nious expressions, or *κακὰς εἰδήσεις* (as they called them.) Which
if they were spoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to
that party whose businessse was then in hand, they took the
greater notice of them, and thought them so much the
worse. What words were especially counted for ominous,
you might give me an account, if you could give me *Sueto-
nium* his book, of which we have but the title, viz. *De vocibus
malè ominatis*. Only thus much I may tell you, that when
they first set about any businessse of concernment, they had
a special care to begin with a Preface *ἑὸς δαδὲ δαδὲ*, or *ἑὸς παῖδου*,
or *ἑὸς ἀνδρὸς* like to *Persius* his *hæc benè sit*, and that old thread-
bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque
sit*. Some words there were, and Proper names of such a signi-
fication, as it was counted a happiness but to hear them spo-
ken. For so when *Julius* had said

Mensas etiam consumimus — presently (saies *Virgil*) his
father laid hold on the word and imbraced the omen,

— *ea vox audita laborum*

Prima tulit finem, primùmque loquentis ab ore

Eripuit pater —

So *Leotychides*, when he desired of a *Samian* his assistance
against the *Persians*, asked what his name was, and being an-
swered *Hegesistratus*, reply'd, I embrace the omen in the nomen,
or *ἡγεσιστράτης ἡγεῖται* for *ἡγεστὰς* & *ἡγεῖται*, is the same
with them, that accipere omen is with the Latines, that is, to
make an ominous speech an omen indeed, and take it to my
self. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hear-
er, to make it an omen or not an omen: *ostentorum vires in
eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, saies *Pliny*.

Now the way to abominate an omen, was either to fling a
stone at the thing, if it were an ominous creature, as a Cat,

or

or the like: or else if it were an unlucky speech, to retort it back again with *εἰς κεφαλὴν σου*, *tibi in caput redeat*, let it return upon thine own head. Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custome of the *ισοπαταῖ*, not only among them, but among the Egyptians also, who when they spied any thing in the victims, that seemed to portend ill to their country, used to pray *εἰς κεφαλὴν τούτου τεινέσθαι*, that it might return upon the head of the beast. The like perhaps is used in the Hebrew, viz. *וְשָׁב בְּרֹאשׁוֹ* in several places of the Scripture: Obadiæ v. 15.

and it puts me in mind of that saying in Seneca, *Quis non si admonetur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respiciat*, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat. Instead of this sometimes they would say *εἰς ἀγαθὴν μοῖραν*, *dii monuerint meliora*. Sometimes upon such an unlucky speech heard while they did such a thing, they would do it another way: or do it again: as one in Euripides, upon somebody speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup. & 1 Kings 2. v. 44 &c.

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own body, and those were either. 1. Marks, such as *ἰναια* spots like oyle 2. *Παλλοί* 3. *Πταρμοί*. *πλημυκαὶ* *διουλομα*, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Salissationes*, and *ἐμβύθ*, or *sinnitus aurium*: which if it were the tingling of the right ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the right eye. Of these things Melampus the great Fortune teller wrote one book to Ptolemaeus Philadelphus: and Posidonius another (says Suidas) which called *Πηλημικὸν διουλομα*. Mosib. Idyl.

Πταρμός Sneezing, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a god, & *ἡσάρων* *δαδὸν* *ἡγέμευε*, saies Aristotle in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith Asbenens, that they abstained from eating the brain, out of which the sneezing came: as also the cause of that usual prayer of salutation *Ζεῦ σῶσον* at a sneezing: according to that jeer of Ammian upon a fellow with a long nose, Theocr. Id. 3.

L. 2.

as if he had stood so far out, that he could not hear himself when he sneezed.

Οὐδ' ἄλλω, ζῶντων, ὅταν πρῶτον, ἢ δὲ αὐτὸν

Τῆς βίβλος πολλὸν καὶ ἀκρίβειαν πύχυν.

Infomuch that if a man sneezed at such a time, or on such a side, they were either perswaded to, or discouraged from, the business undertaken. *Socrates* (and *emuncta naris* as he was) had so little sense himself, as to fetch advice from another mans nose, and to make a Sneeze serve insteed of a genius or a *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumstances. If a man sneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning; and the reason is disputed by *Aristotle* in his *Problemes*. If a man sneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to sneeze on the left hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happened on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themistocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground than such a sneeze, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐθέτομεν ἰσχυρῶς. Such a sneeze while *Xenophon* was making his speech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perswaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them such an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) ordinarily it was reckon'd for good, as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, presently after a speech made of *Ulysses* his return, and revenging himself of his enemies.

Ως φ' ἐστὶν, καὶ ἑμαυτὸν ἀνιῶν ἑσπασεν. — and so *Penelope* took it (for saies she laughing and rejoycing) Οὐχ ὁραὶς ἑμὸς ὕδρ' ἐπ' ἄπ' ἀπ' ἅσιν ἐπιπύει. And the reason may be because sneezing is commonly healthy and wholesome, σπυγνισμὸς: which perchance was understood by the aforesaid *Euphrantides*, when he added εἴτω καὶ σπυγνισμὸς καὶ ἡ νύκτις ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. But now at last I must tell you of this way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago slighted

Cassim.
Plutarch. de

lighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiser sort, for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the *Souldiers* happened to sneeze, as he was going on shipboard being therefore dissuaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, *οὐκ ὀνείσματι τούτων ἀεὶ σκῶται ἐστὶ πῖλα*, *What great Omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together.* But among the *Romans* a great deale more: for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ si Inscipiamus & pedis offenso nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & sternutamenta crunt observanda.*

L. 2. de Div.

Ominous actions or accidents, were such as these following. First at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much used, to make a piece of the cake or any other thing; and carry it home *bona scava gratia*, as we say, for the *luck's* sake. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of a *ὕλην sanitas*. If in sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky accident. This observation the *Romans* called, *causam auspicium*. Secondly, at a *Feast* this action was lucky, to crown the Cup with a *Garland* — *pateramque Corona induit.*

The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, because a *Garland* represents a circle, τὰ ὅντα κύματα ἔχοντες ὅτι ἡ πολυγώνια, which is the most compleat figure of all, and holds most. Unlucky accidents were such as these, viz. The coming in of a strange black dogge, the craking of a table, the spilling of wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit than to write a book) taking away while one was a drinking, or a suddain silence. In putting on of the cloathes the right side must be served first; and therefore if a servant had but given his master the left shooe first, he was sure to have it. And thus much at *Home*. Abroad they had for their Omens, *συμβολα ἰσοδία*, or *συμβόλαι ἰσοδία*. That is (saies the *Scholiast*) τὸ πρὸς τὰ εὐναντία καὶ, *occursacula*, any thing that met them first. Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not the Physician) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books.

α γύμνα α λ α
οἶτα οἶνω ἡ ἐ
λαῶν πρὸς
μέρα, ἡ πᾶ
τὸ ἐκ τῆ
δὴν ἐστὶ μύρον,
ἐῖτα μύρον, ἐῖτε
δαλδο. saies
Hesychius.
οἰκίτης ἐμπαρὲς
τὰ ὑποδύματα
ἐκ τῶν ἀποδύον
ὡς ἐξ τὸ ἀ-
ριστόν.
Chrysostom.
b In Ari-
stoph. Av.
Snidas.

Lucian.

*Aristoph. in
Ecclef.*

^a L. 3.

^b *Plutarch.
de Philadel.*

*Aristoph. in
Ecclef.*

In Eliacis.

If a Snake lay so in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Birch with whelps, or a Fixon with Cubs: Oh! these things were *δυσάρεστα, δυσάρεστα ἢ ἀποτρόπαια, δεινά*, abominanda & averruncanda, abominable sights. So if a man happened to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, *ἐν τῷ δ' ἀσπίθι*, saith *Lucian*, hee must stand forty foot off. Nay if we met with a Weezele or such a creature in the crosse way, we will have no *Commistia* fit for all this day. And ^c *Artemidorus* will give you a reason, why *χαλῦ* should be so much taken notice of, in his *δ' ἑρμῆ*, or running by: because (forsooth) it is *ἐν ἑκάστῳ* to *ἕκκην*, that is, (as I think) the letters in each word will signifie the same number, viz. 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such an enemy to *ἕκκην*, as to interrupt the course of justice? perhaps it was onely then, when they omitted that usuall ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, or purge it of unluckie things. Infinite many more sorts of Divinations might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testifie what regard the Grecians had of such Bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himself had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens *μᾶντι καὶ τοῖς χανδρόν*. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his *χανδρόν ἱερὸν* his Temple for Omens too (sayes *Pausanias*) where the fashion was for him that came for an Omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idols* eares, and then presently stopping his own, to go forth of the Temple, and the first voyce heard after he came out must go for the Oracle. And so much of Divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and Ile have done.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THIS way of Divination is clean different from the former because in it (as Cicero sayes) *temeritas & casus, non ratio & concilium valet*. For though there might be *casus* of the things in the former, yet there was skill withall in the person to give signification. It was invented by *Minerva*: onely *Jupiter* took away her credit, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. Casting, or Drawing lots, was either with *ἀστυχαιοί*, or *talis* cast into a box: of with *tessera* (καυματῶνα *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden tables with letters upon them drawn out of a pot, or *calculi* little balls of earth, *In Fabio*. with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, and sometimes thrown into a well (whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pausanias* speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of *Hercules Βασιλειῶς* in *Achaiah*. And the like (they say) were used by the Parliament of five hundred, with the characters of the ten first letters upon them, to shew to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the *De iis supra*. image of a rod the ensigne of *Mercury*, the god of *Lots*) he that had the *Alpha*, went to that Court which had the sign of *Alpha*, & they had the rest to the Courts that bare the names of the letters *One* of these waies or *all* (which I know not) was so much used by the *Θρία* (the three *Nymphes* reported to have been the nurses of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thria* came to be used for *sortes*, *lots*, according to that

Πολλοὶ ἑριστοὶ παλαιῇ ἢ πρὸς μάχης ἀνέστης

Calculi were much used in ancient times in judging of causes, and in wrestling matches, and the like: though (it seems) in Ciceros time not so much, *Quis enim magistratus, aut quis vir illustrior utitur sortibus, ceteris vero in locis plane refrice-* L. 2. Divin.

runt. In their *Wrestling matches* I have read that they had a silver pot called the *καλῆς*, into which they put little pellets about the bignesse of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and those that happened to draw the same marke were to *Wrestle* together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named *ἀεὶς* or *αἰς*) was to come in at *Kings* (as we say) or to wrestle at last with him that had the mastery. How they used them in *Judging of Causes*, has been shewed by another already. But that they were used also by persons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Aristophanes in pace*. For by reason that one only was to be put to death in one day, and sometimes the judgement was reversed: the Prisoners did cast lots who was to dye first; and he that drew first, was commonly called by the name of *ἐμπύς* the *Mercenary*. Thus in the ships in a storm, they used to cast lots who should be thrown over board for a *κατάρα*. Thus *Enstarchius* sayes, the lot fell to *Ἰσμενός*, just as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And so in most of the Temples, that were resorted unto for Oracles, there were *καλῆς* Lots and a table of purpose to throw for it, after the receiving of the answer; for *ἰδὲ βῆδον τὸς μὲν τὸ γὰρ ἀδὴν, ἀντιπᾶν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐν Σοφιστικῇ* (saies the *ἄνθρωπος* upon *Pindar*) if I throw such a cast, the prophesy will be fulfilled, if I do not, it will not. Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the crosse waies they had their *sortes viales* (*εἰσὸς ἱερὸς οὐμβόλος* *Æschylus* calls them, and *εἰσὸς* is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried so many cunts about him, with several inscriptions: and the next boy he met within the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Prophecy as the best, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg. 1.*

*Ille sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.*

Antoni.

Page 118.

L. 7.

Pyth. Od. 4.

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium* speaks of *ἡ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάγνων*, Diviners in the *Market*. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his book *de Iside, & Osiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Osiris* in a chest, and thrown him into the Sea. *Isis*, as he was wandering too and fro to seek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play, and asking of them, they shewed him the place, ἐν τῷ τῷ παιδίσκῳ μαγνῶν ἔχον διὰ μιν διὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τῶν. Κληθεὶς πρὸς ὅτων ἐσὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐδωρομένῳ ὅτι ὅν τυχόν. Besides these wayes already mentioned, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called σοῖχαι μαγνῶν, or ἱεραδομαγνῶν. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgilliana*: which they say *Severus Alexander* made use of, when he met with this verse of *Virgil*.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Christians themselves have not stickt to practise the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicéphorus Gregor*. Αποξενῶν ἑαυτὴν διὰ ἐν ἑλπίδι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ὅτι εὐχαιῶν ἀποξενῶν. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counsel out of the New Testament, καὶ εὐρεῖ, ἐπιπνευστὰ ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχρημάτι, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choice of divers fatidical verses, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Ausonius* 4. *Confes*. cap. 3. Makes mention of these lotteries. *Si enim de Pagani poetæ cuiuspiam longè aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum sortem quis consulit, mirabiliter consonus negotio sapè versus exiret.* And this way they say that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of καὶ σοῖχαι sortēs, for by καὶ σοῖχαι in the singular number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given to Diviners to speak what they did. καὶ σοῖχαι τὸ διδόναι τοῖς μαγνῶν τοῖς ἀφ' οἰς καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῖς σοῖχαι τῶν καλλίστων.

*In Enrip.
Hippol*

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or *μάντις* as they did but little better than *fain* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet ^a *sayes* of *Cassandra* ^b *χλωρά κόμην στεφάνῳ δάφναι κοσμηθεῖσαν*. For why? *—venturi præscia laurus*. The Laurel they took to be a thing of special and soveraign vertue, both to set a man a Prophesying (and therefore *Enrip.* calls it *θεοπίστον δάφνον*) and to preserve him from any evill, and therefore very much used in Lustrations, insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurel wood. They had their dyet in the *Pythæum* like publick persons. *Χρησιμολόγοι κατὰ χρόνους ἐν πυθαίων ὁικήτοις*, sayes the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. There was one more noted Fraternity of them, called the *μυσταῖς*, *ἐκδοτεὶς ἡ θεοργία μαντεῶν*, sayes *Hesych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Eleon* in *Bœotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedemonian* women of their madnesse) and the youngest of *Gaphna* in *Arcadia*, of *Locris* some men say, otherwise called *Κόδρος* and *Αλῆς*. Answering to these three men, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) sayes there were three Women Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name ^c *Acts c. 16.* of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythraea*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first ^{v. 16.} (I believe) had most of the Spirit of *Pythion*; and brought her Master most gain by Soothsaying.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill already, I must be forced to do more yet, and excuse one fault with another. For my desire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, & why I did it no better. The cords that drew me to do it (and drawn I was) were three, such as twisted together I could by no means break, viz. First the importunity of my

my friend. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customs, for the understanding of Authors: and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an Issue) to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did it no better, are as many. viz. First want of years and judgement, having done the most part of it in my Tirocinium (when I took more delight in these studies) as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited. Secondly, want of health. And thirdly, want of time and leasure, being called away by occasions, that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oyle be not all lost, I have as much as I desired my self, and thou hast no more than I owed thee.

Z. BOGAN.





Μέναν ζῆτο ὁππῶς δὲ ἐκρηθῇ, Εὐχαριώτης
Μητίρας οὐκ ἐδύω, Πατίρας δ' ὄρε. Σάμα δ' ἄλλο
Αἰοτ' ἔδωκε ψυχῶν, εἰσὶν ψυχὴ ἐν τελέχῃ
Ἡδὺ, Πέπας, Πάύρωμα, τὸ πρὶν πῶρωμα, τεινύζω.
Εὐγα, τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μάλλον ἔτ' αἶν'
Μάλλον ἀπαστῶσι Σχυθικῇ κικρυμμένα πύρα.

Εὐλαπὶ ἤνείη πόντον, τὰς δ' ἄρ' αἶν', ἔρωτες,
Θρῆνισα, Λιχρὶ, Ἰκάτω, Μαιτυπύνη, Πόλεμος.

R. WARRE,

ἔ C. C. C.



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